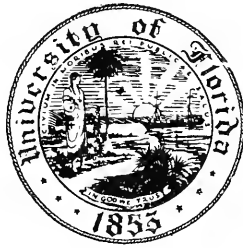


Principles of
ARGUMENT AND DEBATE
REEVES AND HUDSON

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Principles of Argument and Debate

By

J. Walter Reeves

The Peddie School

and

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Princeton University

D. C. HEATH AND COMPANY

BOSTON

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PREFACE

WE have attempted to bring together in a small compass the most essential principles, examples, and exercises for a student who wishes to develop his powers of argumentation. We think of the subject broadly, as dealing with matters which belong to every day, and we are convinced that training in argument will help the student in all his thinking, writing, and speaking, whether upon public or private questions. We do not believe that debating has outlived its usefulness; but we do believe that argumentation carried on under circumstances other than those of formal debate is both more important and more usual. Yet for these other modes of argument, debating still furnishes a good preparation and a good norm. Hence we are explicit in our advice concerning the preparation and delivery of speeches in debate, but we are also emphatic in pointing the student to situations outside the debating hall, where the same methods of gathering facts, straight reasoning, and effective presentation are applicable.

We wish to acknowledge a great debt for the assistance of Mr. Frederick W. Haberman, the present coach of debating at Princeton University, who reviewed and discussed with us much of our work, and had a large share in preparing Chapters III, VI, and VIII.

J. W. R.
H. H. H.




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PRINCIPLES OF ARGUMENT
AND DEBATE

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CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF ARGUMENT AND DEBATE

LET us suppose that at Old Line College the news this morning is that Bill Strong, the college's best halfback and basketball guard, has been expelled for cheating in the final examinations of the term. "What a shame!" says everyone. Bill Strong's friends begin defending him.

"Bill didn't cheat," says one. "I took the same examination, and I didn't see him cheat."

"Even if he did, a failure in the course or a month's suspension would have been punishment enough," says another.

"Dean Card," says a third, "always had it in for Bill anyway."

"Yes, the Dean's Committee overlooked a lot of cheating by other people. Why does he pick on Bill?"

"He's wrecked our football team for next season. He should have kept Bill in college, no matter what happened, for the sake of our game with New Hope."

Someone else speaks up for the Dean. "But you know the rules — a year ago the Student Government endorsed a faculty rule that anybody caught cheating in the finals would be expelled."

"No, the rule said that he *could* be expelled. The rule says he 'will be liable to expulsion.' That doesn't mean he has to be expelled."

"But the Dean has to crack down occasionally or no one would take the rule seriously."

"Yes, but I never did like old Dean Card anyway."

"And I don't believe Bill cheated. I was there."

"The Dean had better spend his time straightening up the bad examination schedule, and lay off Bill."

"That's another question."

Here is a sort of argumentation (to use the more formal word) and debate. But it is pretty crude: it goes around and around. What can be done that will make the situation more clear and lead to a more settled state of mind in the school community?

First, by analysis the **main** issues can be found. What does this mean? It means that in any such situation there are two or three questions which must be answered one way or another if a satisfactory conclusion is to be reached. These issues arise from the *clash of opinion*, the contradictory statements made by the persons in disagreement.

For instance, the Dean has announced that Bill Strong was suspended for cheating; some of Bill's friends immediately say, "He didn't cheat." Hence an issue appears: *Did Bill Strong cheat?* This is a question of fact, and can probably be answered definitely by anyone who has access to all the factual evidence. Suppose a delegation of Bill's friends visits Dean Card and asks him about the evidence on this point. And suppose the Dean answers that two teachers have testified that they saw Bill cheat, and that his examination paper gives further evidence to this effect; or suppose that the Dean shows a letter from Bill in which he admits that he cheated. Then we may say that this question is no longer an issue in the argument. Both sides agree that Bill cheated.

Then a second issue comes to the fore: *Is there a rule that a student who cheats in a final examination is to be expelled?* The Dean produces a copy of the rule. Bill's friends examine it and study its wording. The rule says that such a student "is liable to expulsion." Now the question at issue is slightly different. It becomes: *Does the rule mean that one who cheats must be expelled or merely that he may be expelled?* The word *liable* is looked up in the dictionary. Probably Dean Card will agree with the students

that the rule means only that he *may be* expelled. "Even so," says the Dean, "I am within my rights, and even my duty, in expelling him." "You are within your rights," replies a student, "but you would also have a right, under this rule, to keep Bill in school."

Now we have reached a third issue: *Should the Dean have kept Bill Strong in college?* This is different from the preceding issues, in that it is a question of *policy* rather than of fact. It is not so easily settled, because the dictionary or book of rules will not help. Even the evidence of eyewitnesses has no bearing. Were such a question suitable for public discussion, a debate might now be arranged upon some such resolution as this: *RESOLVED, That Dean Card was unwise in expelling Bill Strong.*

In opening such a debate, the first speaker should point out the matters upon which both sides agree. We have seen what these are: both agree that Bill Strong cheated; both agree that there exists a rule under which the Dean had the power and the right to expel Bill. The question, then, is upon the *wisdom* of the action, whether it represents *good policy*.

With the question so defined and limited, some other issues become important, such as these:

Should a valuable athlete be given special consideration in the application of discipline? (The affirmative says "yes," the negative, "no.")

Should the fact that no one has yet been expelled for cheating have kept the Dean from expelling Bill? (The affirmative says "yes," the negative, "no.")

Would some slighter punishment, such as suspension or failure in the course, have been sufficient? (The affirmative says "yes," the negative, "no.")

These three issues are what might be called affirmative issues — they represent the attack of the affirmative. As we have seen, the affirmative answers "yes" to all of them.


Now the negative may introduce some issues of its own, which represent its counterattack (and which the affirmative would probably not bring up). Such an issue would be:

Does the maintaining of discipline require that in an important case the full penalty of the rule should be applied? (The negative says "yes," the affirmative "no.")

As has been suggested, the case of Bill Strong is probably not suited for public debate. But is it not true that by applying reason and analysis to the question we have proceeded in the direction of settling it? After discussion based upon our analysis, the question might not be settled to the complete agreement of everyone, but probably only a small minority would remain unsatisfied. And even if, after such analysis, and after discussion based upon it, there are students, even a majority of them, who think the Dean acted unwisely, yet they will at least agree that "there are two sides to the question"; and they will be less likely to hold a grudge or a prejudice against the Dean.

Such is the working of argument and debate. Stated in simple terms, **argumentation means trying to convince others that one's conclusions or opinions are correct.** Put more fully and precisely, **argumentation** means the reasonable analysis of a disagreement, the finding of the main issues (the few fundamental questions to be answered), the gathering of evidence which helps answer the questions at issue, and the supporting of one answer, or set of answers, against all others.

A **debate** is the formal or informal presentation of the analysis, the evidence, and the conflicting arguments of the two (or more) parties to a disagreement.



CHAPTER II

DEBATABLE QUESTIONS

DEBATABLE questions arise from life itself. The debate on expelling Bill Strong arose from the interaction of events and rules and claims and personalities at Old Line College. Every day's newspaper tells of actions and happenings which give rise to conflicting opinions and touch off vigorous debate — whether on street corners, in legislative halls, or at dinner parties. In the summer of 1940 there was debating on a national scale upon the question whether any American president should be elected for a third term. Over the radio, in newspaper editorials, in common talk, the issue was drawn. The Constitution was studied as never before; the words of Washington, Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt, and many others were searched for testimony on one side or the other.

Students really should have no difficulty in finding subjects that will give rise to argument. Merely locating these subjects, however, is not enough. One must look through the loose tangle of conflicting statements to find the precise question which will reward thorough study and discussion.

It is impossible for us to arrive at a definite result in any discussion unless we have a definite objective in mind when we begin. In argumentation and debate this objective must be made clear by the way the subject is phrased. The subject of a debate is usually called "the question," and sometimes is phrased as a question — for instance, "Should the powers of the Supreme Court be

limited?" — to which the affirmative side answers "yes," and the negative side answers "no." It has been found better, in formal debating, to phrase the subject as a declarative sentence, called the *proposition*. An indefinite statement is likely to bring about quibbling as to what is meant. In such cases the objective is lost sight of. With the proposition "Countries should disarm," one gets no clean-cut understanding as to whether the countries should abolish all their armaments or should merely reduce them, whether they should disarm immediately or gradually, and so on.

But besides meaning something definite, **the proposition should be interesting**. Often questions turn up in school and college debates which interest neither the audience nor the debaters. Attention is likely to lag if the proposition has no vital touch with the life of speaker or listener. The proposition, "*Resolved*, That the Suez Canal should be widened," is not half so interesting to an American college audience as one like "*Resolved*, That chapel attendance should be voluntary."

When arguments or debates are carried on before noncollegiate audiences, then the speakers must be willing to sacrifice something of their own personal interest, perhaps, and use questions that have to do with municipal, state, national, or international affairs. The cancellation of war debts was for many years an acceptable topic because it not only affected international relations but also came home to every individual, since the payment of the debts would make a difference in his taxes. For the same reason, the question interested the debaters themselves.

A topic to be really interesting and worth our while **must be one of some importance**. A question of merely local or momentary interest such as "*Resolved*, That college students should be permitted to have automobiles" is probably not worth taking before an audience outside the student body. On the other hand, the question as to whether or not a college education fits a man for a successful business career is both interesting and important. In short, interest and importance are dependent upon audience and occasion.

TWO KINDS OF QUESTIONS

Not all of the questions that arise in public and private discussion are of the same type. Broadly speaking, they are of two sorts: (1) those of fact, and (2) those of policy.

1. A proposition or question for debate is one of fact when it merely asserts that some event has occurred or that some condition exists. The following are examples:

- a. *Resolved*, That the United States can be economically self-sufficient.
- b. *Resolved*, That crime is increasing.
- c. *Resolved*, That it is a violation of the Constitution to prohibit the distribution of handbills.

It will be noticed that only a fairly complex question of fact is debatable at all. The question, "*Resolved*, That the Giants won the pennant in the National League last year," can be settled by turning to the *World Almanac* or the files of a newspaper, and not by any amount of arguing.

2. Propositions of policy are those which assert that something should be done, i.e., that a change from the *status quo* should be brought about. Examples are:

- a. *Resolved*, That the United States should adopt a permanent system of universal military service.
- b. *Resolved*, That the honor system should be established in this college.
- c. *Resolved*, That the several states should pass laws requiring the sterilization of the feeble-minded.

Questions of policy lend themselves more easily to debate because the affirmative more definitely carries the controversy to new fields. The supporters of the proposition demand action, a change of policy or the adoption of a new policy. Thus they assume a definite burden of proof, because they must show that their proposed change is desirable, and, generally speaking, practicable. They must attack the *status quo*.

PHRASING AND TESTING THE PROPOSITION

1. **A proposition must be debatable.** (a) It is useless to spend time in arguing about a question that is obviously true, or obviously false, or for some other reason one-sided. The proposition, "*Resolved*, That industry should be rewarded," is obviously true, and the negative side would lack legs to stand on. It would be equally foolish to debate the assertion, "*Resolved*, That crime should go unpunished," because it is obviously false.

(b) It is likewise useless to debate a question that cannot be proved approximately true or false. We may not be able to come to an absolute decision, or an undoubted truth, such as everyone will accept; but we should be able at least to show that the weight of evidence, the probability, is greater on one side or the other. We cannot, however, arrive at such a decision on a question like "*Resolved*, That the teacher has done more for civilization than the engineer"; for both have done much, but in different ways. There is no common ground for comparison. Hence the first test your proposition must pass: Is it debatable?

2. Another fundamental requirement is that **the proposition shall be a complete assertion.** There must be a definite statement or affirmation about something before we can prove or disprove it. The lawyer states, "This man is guilty of burglary," and then attempts to prove the statement true. The student says, "Golf should be made an intercollegiate sport," and the argument is on. If he threw only the word "golf" into the ring there could be no argument, for then there would be nothing asserted about golf to be proved or disproved. The term "insurance" or even "unemployment insurance" means nothing as far as argument is concerned; but it is quite different when we say, "The United States should adopt a system of unemployment insurance."

Generally, for the purposes of a debate, we state the proposition in the form of a resolution, such as, "*Resolved*, That the President of the United States should be elected for a single term of six years." A resolution, it will be seen, is nothing more than a motion,

such as may be brought before a meeting of some organization. It is really a motion made by the affirmative, intended to express the sentiment of the meeting. Likewise, bills introduced in Congress are motions or resolutions which definitely set forth some change to be made in our laws. Beware, then, of stating the resolution, as is sometimes done by inexperienced debaters, in the form, "*We are resolved* that the United States should, etc." Such wording shows ignorance of the nature of a resolution. If any words were to be supplied, they would rather be, "*Be it resolved* that, etc."

3. **A proposition should not be too broad.** We must test the proposed subject to see that it has fairly definite limits. If a proposition is too inclusive, there may be no real clash of arguments; one side may devote its energies to one phase of the question while the other is developing a different phase. "*Resolved, That the honor system should be adopted by all American colleges,*" is too broad, because there are local conditions making some colleges entirely different from others — and different in such a way as to affect the question. "All American colleges" includes business colleges and even barber colleges. We had better state the proposition, "*Resolved, That the honor system should be adopted in this college.*" Again, the proposition, "*Resolved, That dictators have brought about better government,*" is too broad. The affirmative speakers might confine themselves to the work of a certain dictator, and the negative might point to some other or others. Better to limit the question to one dictatorship.

4. **A proposition should contain only one assertion.** It is both difficult and confusing to attempt to prove two propositions at once. When you endeavor to spread your argument over a double question, the result is likely to be failure to prove either half. The debate may be partly on one and partly on the other. The following resolution is unsuitable for this reason: "*Resolved, That the United States should maintain hemisphere defense and double the size of its navy.*" The twofold assertion is more likely to be overlooked in such a proposition as the following: "Old age pensions and poverty are affairs of the federal government." Better sep-

arate "poverty" from "old age pensions" and deal with only one of them in any given debate, because each involves its own set of issues. Beware of a proposition that uses the conjunction "and."

5. **The proposition should not contain ambiguous words or phrases.** The more clean-cut and definite your statement is, the better. Ambiguous words give opportunity for quibbles. One debater may contend that his interpretation of a word is correct, while his opponent may argue with equal justice that the word has a different meaning. In the proposition, "*Resolved, That it is better for one to see his own country before traveling abroad,*" the word "better" can be interpreted in several different ways. Much quibbling might arise from such interpretations, which would do nothing toward advancing the debate.

It may be objected that in some instances it seems difficult or impossible to eliminate all ambiguous words from the statement of the question. If so, the affirmative and the negative teams should come to an agreement, as early as possible, either before the debate or in the course of the first speeches, upon the meaning of the words that are not definite. You may want to debate a question like the following: "*Resolved, That communists should be disfranchised.*" Unless the whole debate is to be upon the meaning of the word "communists," you will have to reach an agreement upon it. It is sometimes well to have the affirmative and negative exchange briefs before the debate, or at least exchange the introductions of their briefs, so that definitions may be settled. To have a debate in which the clash is upon fundamental points is far better than wrangling over the meaning of terms.

6. **The proposition should be stated affirmatively.** The affirmative side of a question should be the aggressive side; that is, it should insist upon a change from the present status, or should take a stand differing from that which generally prevails at the moment. Naturally, those who argue for a change are shouldering the *burden of proof*. It is fairly reasonable to suppose that a system or a situation exists because there is a certain amount of virtue in it. A person who suggests changing it to something different must

“show cause” why this should be done. “A man is considered innocent until he is proved guilty.” That means that he does not have to enter court in order to prove he is innocent; he is already so considered. The prosecution trying to convict him must shoulder the burden of proving his guilt. The United States now has a protective tariff. It is presumed that we have the tariff because of certain advantages; it is presumed that the tariff is a proper and equitable system. One who contends that the protective tariff should be abolished must take the offensive and not only prove that the absence of such a tariff would be as advantageous as the present system but would be even better.

Thus the affirmative *proposes*, the negative *denies*. The affirmative comes before us and says, “Capital punishment [a system which has long existed and still exists] should be abolished.” The negative says, “No, let this form of punishment continue to exist.” The affirmative has shouldered the burden of proof; it brings charges against something which exists by common consent and has long so existed; the negative repels the attack, sustains the *status quo*, denies and refutes the charges.

Hence the proposition, “*Resolved*, That unemployment is not the result of large-scale industry,” is incorrectly phrased, because it requires the affirmative to deny the positive contentions of the negative. To cast this sentence into proper form, the *not* should be omitted. The following proposition contains the same fault in a less obvious form: “*Resolved*, That the present neutrality act is satisfactory.” Here the affirmative would be defending the *status quo* instead of recommending a change. The proposition should be recast and limited, possibly in this form: “*Resolved*, That the present neutrality act should be amended to include the former embargo provisions.”

SUMMARY

A proposition for debate should be phrased as a complete, limited, single, unambiguous, affirmative assertion. In order to arrive at

this result, we may submit the proposed subject to the following tests:

1. Is it debatable?
2. Is it a complete, declarative sentence?
3. Is it sufficiently limited?
4. Is it a single assertion?
5. Is it free from ambiguous words?
6. Is it stated affirmatively?

EXERCISES

A. Phrase the following general subjects so that they will become good questions for debate. Be sure that they fulfill all the tests.

1. Taxation
2. Reciprocity
3. Old Age Pensions
4. Social Security
5. The Honor System
6. Commercialized Athletics
7. College Education
8. City-Manager Plan
9. Value of Advertising
10. The Small College Versus the Large College
11. Crime Prevention
12. The Jury System

B. What is wrong with the following questions?

1. Art and culture should be taught in college.
2. Criminals should be compelled to work.
3. Self-made men are the strongest.
4. The income tax should be revised.
5. This house holds that our present system of electing the president should be continued.
6. South America and the United States should have a trade agreement.
7. An easier method of amending the federal Constitution should be provided.
8. Socialistic control offers a remedy for labor troubles.
9. Immigration is a menace to our social security.

10. Poetry is more valuable than science.
 11. Conditions in the United States demand a new major political party.
 12. The United States should join the League of Nations without reservations.
 13. Beauty has practical uses.
 14. Law is a nobler profession than medicine.
 15. The President of the United States should have no power over the Supreme Court.
- C.
1. Write out five propositions, properly phrased, which you would like to debate.
 2. What should be the guiding factors in your choice of a question for debate?
 3. Phrase five school problems which are worthy of your discussion.
 4. Phrase five national problems which are being discussed.
- D.
1. State five propositions which are questions of policy.
 2. State five propositions which are questions of fact.



CHAPTER III

GETTING THE FACTS

FROM the preceding chapters it is clear that a debater is concerned with determining the real question or questions at issue, with gathering facts, finding the precise bearing of those facts, organizing them into coherent form, refuting the claims of his opponents, and convincing the audience of the value of his conclusions. Each of these elements will be considered in the chapters which follow. In this chapter we shall discuss the mastery of material — the discovery, the selecting, and the preserving of information.

THE SOURCES OF MATERIAL

Long after the students have departed, the corridors of our colleges must echo with the command "Get the facts!" Facts are to a debate speech what steel, rubber, and soybeans are to an automobile. Even Henry Ford could not make a car without the necessary materials. Some of those materials Mr. Ford will have on his shelves in Detroit, but many more must be purchased from the warehouses of the world. Like Henry Ford, the debater has two sources of materials: his own shelves — that is, his personal information; and civilization's warehouse of intellectual supplies — the library.

Personal Information. Personal information is derived from knowledge, observation, experience, and interviews. Many students are inclined to belittle the value of their own knowledge on a sub-

ject, thinking that a quotation from a person in a responsible position carries more weight. Now there is no reason to rely *solely* on your own knowledge. The tackle on the football team, in debating the effects of participation in sports on scholastic attainments, might well combine his own observations with the statistics given him by the dean of the college.

The first danger inherent in becoming too dependent upon the conclusions of others is that the student eliminates the opportunity of becoming dependent upon himself. Education should teach individuality, independence, self-reliance, confidence in one's self.

The second danger of dependence upon others is the loss of originality. Every debate question has some connections, however remote, to your family, your friends, your ambitions, your travels, your reading, your home town. By sifting these connections, you can find examples, illustrations, interpretations, anecdotes, applications of principles to actual situations. When you interlard your speech with materials chosen from your personal information, you are being original. You set your seal upon the speech.

In your personal search for knowledge outside of magazines and books, it is refreshing and stimulating to interview others whose experience will shed some light upon the subject. You get in touch with life itself, when, preparing for a debate on socialized medicine, you interview a doctor, the health agent of the town, and a family on relief. Interest aroused in you will be transferred to the audience: you will make a contribution to the subject which is timely, concrete, vivid, and original.

Printed Materials. If, however, your personal shelves are like Mother Hubbard's, you must stock them from the printed provisions in the library. The debater-scholar is one who re-enforces his own knowledge with the wisdom of other thinkers. Our libraries contain the accumulated wisdom of those who have thought and written upon thousands of subjects. To many students the library is the maze of Minos, but the enterprising scholar will make the way to a piece of information as plain as the trail from dormitory to chapel.

What aids, then, will enable you to find among the thousands of books in the library the few you might want? How, when you are ignorant of a subject, can you find in a few minutes a lone magazine article among the millions of essays in the stacks? All libraries have printed guides which make finding material as simple as discovering the correct road by reading a map. The best guides to printed information are the following:

A. For newspaper articles:

1. *The New York Times Index*. This index has been published continuously since January, 1913.
2. To discover material in other newspapers on a particular event, look up the date of the event in the *Times Index*, and then turn to the issues of the selected papers on and about that date.

B. For magazine articles:

1. *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature*, 1802-1906. This index lists all articles in general publications published during the last century.
2. *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, 1900—. The *Readers' Guide* brings Poole's Index up to date. It lists all the articles from over 100 of the most popular magazines, the names of which appear in the front. Entries are made under subject, title, and author.
3. *International Index to Periodical Literature*, 1920—. This index supplements the *Readers' Guide*, listing articles from more scholarly and technical magazines. Indexed by subject, author, and title.
4. *Industrial Arts Index*, 1913—. This index lists the articles of 234 of the more technical journals.
5. Indexes to the learned journals, such as the *Quarterly Journal of Speech* and the *American Historical Review*, are published at stated intervals.

C. For books:

1. The card catalogue of the library. Entries under author, title, and subject. All the titles listed in the card catalogue are carried in that library.

2. *The Cumulative Book Index*. This is "a world list of books in the English language," containing a list of books published from approximately 1890 to the present time.

D. For government documents:

1. *Index of the Congressional Record*. Entries under names, subjects, and bills.
2. *Catalogue of Public Documents*. Lists all federal publications issued during the period of each Congress.

E. Other sources listing many kinds of material are:

1. Bibliographies at the end of special articles in reference works, as: the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; the *Encyclopedia Americana*; the *New International Encyclopedia*; and text books.
2. Bibliographies in special fields and on special subjects.

Suppose you wished to discover some material on the proposition "*Resolved, That capital punishment should be abolished.*" If you were to employ the aids set out above, you would take the following steps, achieving these results:

1. Look in the card catalogue. Under the heading "Capital Punishment," the Princeton University Library has 13 books listed. One of them is *Capital Punishment in the United States*, by Raymond T. Bye.

2. Look in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*. In the 1930 to 1935 volume there are 6 articles listed. One of them is "Death Penalty for Kidnapping," *Nation* 137:172 (which means volume 137, page 172). In addition to these articles, the guide refers to the word *Lynching*. Under this topic 75 articles are listed, one of which is "Organized Killings," *New Republic* 76:197. At the end of this series, the guide refers to the expression *mob violence*, under which there are three articles listed.

3. Look in the encyclopedias. In the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, at the end of its short article on "Capital Punishment," there are 4 references. G. W. Kirchwey has an article on this subject in volume III of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. In addition to the 16 references found at the end of the article, the reader is

referred to other subject headings to be found in the encyclopedia itself: *Punishment; Crime; Criminology; Pardon; Sanctuary; Political Offenders.*

4. Look in the *International Index to Periodical Literature*. In the volume covering the months from July, 1938, to March, 1939, there is one article.

5. Look in the *New York Times Index*. The volume for 1938 lists 13 items.

6. Look in the *Cumulative Book Index*. The 1933-37 volume carries 4 titles. It also refers to *Executions* and *Executioners*; under this topic is the title of one book, *Off with His Head*, by G. Bryan.

7. Look in governmental documents. On this subject there is one notation in each of the *Catalogues of Public Documents of United States 71st Congress*, and in the *Congressional Record Index*.

The logical culmination of this tour of discovery is the making of a bibliography. A bibliography which accurately states the title, the author, the publisher, and the date of the piece is indispensable to the debater. At this point, by discovering things to read, you have solved the first major problem in the mastery of materials.

SELECTING MATERIAL FOR STUDY

You are now confronted with a problem even more puzzling than the first. Within sixty minutes of your entry into the library, you have a possible list of some 200 items to read. How can you choose from this "blooming, buzzing confusion" those titles which will help you most? On what basis shall you select your readings?

The debater should chart his course in reading just as a college faculty charts the student's course in mathematics, beginning with the underlying science of arithmetic, and progressing through the more specialized subjects of algebra, geometry, and calculus. A reading chart for debating has four stages based upon the principles of moving from the general to the specific, and from the expository to the argumentative.

1. *Get a bird's-eye view of the subject.* Read a short account, one that will place your specific debate proposition in its proper framework. If the question is on the advisability of granting Philippine independence, read a chapter in a history of the United States dealing with the Philippines.

2. *Get a fair view of the subject.* Read an unbiased account; that is, an expository one. A good expository account of the Philippines, and one which also fulfills the requirement of being short, is the article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, or in any other encyclopedia.

3. *Get a detailed view of the subject.* So far the picture is large, but shadowy; now you must fill in the features, give substance to the shadows. Read an entire book on the history of the Philippines since 1898, so as to obtain a detailed as well as complete picture. Read an entire book on socialized medicine. If the one book is not satisfactory, read another one. Usually, however, if you *read one book* carefully, you will find it possible to skim another book, halting for absorbed attention in only a few places.

4. *Get an argumentative view of the subject.* A proposition for debate arises, as we have learned, because of disagreement. This disagreement may result in two or more solutions to the problem. The "argumentative view" of the subject means not only familiarity with the arguments and the facts sustaining your solution of the problem, but also intimacy with the arguments of your opponents. In short, you must understand the contentions of the various alternatives. To Philippine independence, for instance, the alternatives would appear to be maintenance of the *status quo*, or the granting of dominion rights to the islands. Thus, at this final stage in preparation, you will select controversial literature for study.

By charting your reading in accordance with the twin principles of moving from general information to specific information, and from expository information to argumentative information, much can be done to select properly material for concentrated study. But how can one predict that a book or article is general or spe-

cific, expository or argumentative? No complete answer is possible, but the following tests will aid in this prediction.

1. *When was the piece published?* Since events affecting Philippine independence, socialized medicine, and almost any other question move so rapidly, only books or articles of comparatively recent date are valuable. You certainly cannot obtain a bird's-eye view of capital punishment by reading the book on that topic published by William Bradford in 1793.

2. *What is the title of the piece?* The title of Rev. G. B. Cheever's book *Defence of Capital Punishment* is self-revelatory. *Debate on Capital Punishment*, by Clarence Darrow and Judge A. J. Talley, is obviously controversial. You can learn from the card in the library catalogue that R. T. Bye's book, *Capital Punishment in the United States*, was first submitted as a Ph.D. thesis at the University of Pennsylvania. Theses are almost always expository in nature.

3. *Where is the article published?* Encyclopedia articles are general, historical, and expository in character. Articles in *Harper's*, the *Yale Review*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, and the *American Economic Review* are historical, factual, interpretative, timely, and unbiased. The *Nation* and the *New Republic* are reputable weekly magazines liberal in character. As its name suggests, the *Forum* is a magazine presenting various and opposing views of subjects in dispute.

4. *Who wrote the piece?* Is the author a partisan, an advocate, or an expositor? Only familiarity with the subject itself and with the outstanding names will enable you to predict fairly accurately the position of certain men in the controversy. We do know, however, that professors who write textbooks tend to be unbiased, and that senators who make speeches are usually advocates of certain courses of action.

In addition to choosing materials in accordance with the principles and rules set out above, the debater-scholar must keep one other question in mind: "Is the material primary or secondary material?" **Primary sources** are sources of *original* material; that is, documentary records — such as diaries, state papers, and chron-

icles; remains — such as sepulchres, works of art, coins, and literature in general; oral tradition — such as the Icelandic Saga, or stories about Lincoln put into circulation by people who knew him; oral and printed testimony — such as the evidence of people who have witnessed an accident, and the journalism of reporters who were on the scene; statistics if properly compiled — such as the *United States Census*.

Secondary sources are sources of interpretative and analytical material; that is, opinions and analyses of men who have carefully examined the original sources. In general, authorities write secondary sources. Such works as textbooks on history, literature, and sociology are secondary sources.

Your main reliance will naturally be upon secondary or interpretative material, but no debater should take the platform without having read at least one or two of the primary sources. What would be the worth of a lecture on Greek drama if the lecturer had never read a play by Euripides, Sophocles, or Aeschylus? Debaters constantly commit the lecturer's sin. They debate on freedom of speech without having read the two principal American documents of primary material on that subject — the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution with its amendments. They debate the neutrality act, but have read only the digest of the act in *Time* magazine, never having examined the actual bill itself.

Originality is in direct proportion to the use of primary materials. When you have read the primary materials, you have a feeling that you are an authority on the subject; you can test with new intelligence the conclusions of others who write on the topic; you can impart to a speech the vital glow of life.

You can save valuable time by wise selection of material for study. You will have channeled your effort. If, early in your preparation, you choose for study and become thoroughly conversant with one encyclopedia article, one long book, and one or two pieces of primary material, you will be in an excellent position to handle with ease and acumen the controversial literature which you will constantly be turning to later in the debating season.

PRESERVING MATERIALS FOR REFERENCE

Even though you have read carefully and honestly, a practical difficulty is now apparent: since you cannot possibly remember all that you have read, how can you preserve the most useful part of it? The question is as old as scholarship itself; and the answer might be that of an old evangelist, "There are a thousand paths to salvation!" Frankly, the problem is one of individual salvation.

Unless one has a prodigious memory, like that of a Macaulay or a Beecher, he must have recourse to the aid of notes. Notes have one important characteristic — they never forget. Most students are appalled at the prospect of taking notes because the notes have no apparent reason for existing. The notes are a mirror to the *author's purpose*, not a flashlight illuminating the path to the student's particular goal. Intelligent note-taking must wait upon the decision on your part to achieve some definite object. If you were preparing to uphold the proposition that the United States should be completely isolated from Europe, you would engage in a wearisome and unrewarding business if you were to take endless notes on everything found in two or three books on isolation and neutrality. It would be more sensible to read carefully, meanwhile jotting down statements and ideas which will clarify your thinking, and which will finally enable you to decide what special argument you wish to develop. On the question of neutrality you might, for example, decide to prove that isolation is feasible for the United States because she can become economically self-sufficient. You now have a special argument to prosecute. At that stage in your thinking, you are ready for intensive note-taking, intelligently directed to achieve a goal determined beforehand.

Though, as has been previously remarked, note-taking is the most individual of scholarly acts, many writers and speakers agree on some of the following rules:

1. *The note system should be easily manageable.* Large, floppy paper may be satisfactory for the jottings which serve to clarify the problem in your mind, but notes designed for permanent use should

be easy to handle, easy to file, easy to group. A fairly stiff 4 x 6 card fulfills these requirements.

2. *Do not record the proof of more than one topic on each card.* Your motto might be: "One idea to a card, and a card for every idea."

3. *Develop a system which will tell you immediately if the note you have taken is: (1) a quotation, (2) a paraphrase, (3) your own idea arising from the reading.* A quotation could be shown by quotation marks, followed by the page reference; a paraphrase with no marks at all, but followed by page references; your own ideas by brackets. Example:

Educ. and Public Life.

Curtis, Public Duty of Ed. Men.
ed. by B. G. Smith

The tremendous influence exerted by such men as Cavour, Bismarck, Gladstone, and Samuel Adams is ample evidence that there is nothing enfeebling in higher education. pp. 21-4.

"There is no sophistry more poisonous to the state, no folly more stupendous and demoralizing, than the notion that the purest character and the highest education are incompatible with the most commanding mastery of men and the most efficient administration of affairs." p. 24.

[Another example of the educ. man in pub. affairs is Woodrow Wilson.]

[Check these thoughts with the ideas of businessmen expressed in a poll printed in *Fortune*, about May, 1939]

In this example, the first paragraph represents a concise summary of almost three pages of the text; the second paragraph is a quotation from the speech; and the last two statements are ideas of the note-taker arising from the reading.

4. *Place in the top left-hand corner of the card the subject heading of the note.* All cards on this particular subject or argument can then be filed together in their natural order. Subheads can also be noted; for example:

Econ. self-sufficiency.

Relation of exports to prosperity.

5. *The reference should be carefully checked.* The advantage of placing it in the top right-hand corner is that you can easily see it

when riffling through the file. The page reference is best placed at the end of the quotation itself. Example:

Econ. self-sufficiency	Chase, S. <i>New Western</i>
Necessary imports at present	<i>Front</i>

The U. S. War Dept. lists shortages in the following articles:

rubber	tin	shellac	sugar	silk
antimony	wool	manganese	jute	mercury
hides	chromium	nickel	coco shells	coffee
camphor	tungsten	opium	mica	nitrates

We import some of these articles or a portion of each from practically every country in the world. If, however, we were isolated from all the world except North and South America, we would face serious shortages in only rubber, tin, and manganese. pp. 68-72.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have suggested that facts concerning the subject to be argued about may be gathered from personal observation or interviews and from printed materials. For printed materials the various library guides should be consulted, and a bibliography compiled. We have further suggested, as the answer to the question of how to select one's readings, that articles and books can be chosen in accordance with the principles of moving from the general to the specific, and from the expository to the argumentative; that printed items can be identified under these principles by observing the date, title, publisher, and author; that no debater's armory is complete without primary material. Finally, we have suggested that notes are an indispensable adjunct to memory.



CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE QUESTION

BEFORE any attempt can be made to present the proof of a proposition, certain steps must be taken. The most important of these steps is determining the issues growing out of the proposition, the fundamental questions which must be answered one way or the other. (See Chapter I for a simple illustration of finding the issues.) We find, however, that there are other steps which lead up to the finding of the issues, steps which might be summed up as forming the basis or background of the question. This background is necessary for an intelligent discussion and must be known alike by those who favor and those who oppose the proposition. A selection from this material will be presented by the first affirmative speaker in the debate, in order to insure that the audience is sufficiently informed and in order to lay the basis for the argument. When preparing a plan or brief of the debate, the debaters will outline this background material in the Introduction, as explained in Chapter V.

I. Reasons for the Present Interest in the Question. There is little reason for pursuing a course of argument if the proof is to fall on inattentive ears. The question must be of some present concern, and the first matters to be thought about may well be, Why are we arguing about this question at all, and why are we arguing about it at this time? Hence, both in preparation and in presentation, we may devote some time to these two matters:

A. *The importance of the question.* It is well to call attention

to the fact that the question is an important one which warrants the consideration of those who are listening to the debate. Cordell Hull, in a speech on the spirit of international law, began thus:

There was never a time in our national history when the influence of the United States in support of international law was more urgently needed than at present — to serve both our own interests and those of the entire human race.

This statement would immediately arouse interest, because the audience would realize that the subject to be discussed was one of great importance.

B. *The timeliness of the question.* It is necessary not only to show that the question is important but also that it demands immediate attention. Mr. Hull went on to say:

The world is today in the grip of a severe upheaval, the outcome of which will affect profoundly the future of mankind.

II. **History of the Question.** It is necessary to know something of the origin and history of the question before a complete understanding is possible. Not all of this will be given to the audience, but only what is most pertinent. The history should not be used in an argumentative way in the introductory material, but rather should bring everyone up to date upon the subject before beginning the constructive argument. In debating the proposition, “*Resolved, That the nations of the western hemisphere should form a permanent American Union,*” it would be of value to speak of the Monroe Doctrine and its influence, as well as of the more recent activities of the Pan American Union. Consider the question whether the United States should work toward the formation of a new League of Nations. How did the question originate? A short history of the formation of the League after the close of the first World War, and the part we played in relation to that League, would be both necessary and interesting. The discussion, however, should not be carried to the point of attempting to prove that the failure of the League was due to our lack of participation. That would come out in the argument proper.

III. **Definition of the Question.** In the statement of the question it is not always possible to eliminate vague terms. Most words, in fact, seem to have more than one meaning. It is important that there shall be no chance of misunderstanding the question at issue. Many debates have failed because the opposing sides were interpreting the question in different ways and hence failed to lock horns. The best way to avoid confusion is to have an agreement between the opposing teams as to the meaning of the terms in the questions. Where an agreement has not been effected beforehand, the first affirmative speaker will define the question to the best of his ability, and the first negative speaker will either announce that his team accepts the affirmative's definition or offer his own definition. The following aids may be used for determining a correct definition.

A. *Dictionary definition.* The dictionary cannot be depended upon to settle the matter, if it gives two or more definitions for the word in question. In such cases it would be natural for those interested to choose the definition that most definitely led to the line of argument they wished to follow. This would lead to quibbling, and quibbling is not conducive to good debating. *Webster's New International Dictionary* gives a half column to definitions of socialism. The word has many shades of meaning. It may be interpreted all the way from a mild form of government ownership of public utilities and key industries to the complete elimination of private property. The dictionary, then, would be practically worthless when it came to defining the question, "*Resolved*, That this house favors the establishment of a socialistic government for the United States." It must not be understood, however, that the dictionary definition is absolutely useless. The dictionary should be consulted, but in instances where a word has more than one meaning and where the word is under fire in a debate, then it is well to seek a definition elsewhere.

B. *Definition by authority.* It is in most cases better to take your definition from authorities upon the subject of the debate. If it is a legal term that needs definition, go to the works of an

eminent jurist; if a scientific term, go to a scientist or a lexicon of scientific terms. Professor Seligman, a noted economist, would be a good authority upon the definition of socialism. In a debate with Professor Scott Nearing on the question, "*Resolved, That capitalism has more to offer the workers of the United States than socialism,*" Professor Seligman spoke of the many types of socialism, but arrived at these statements of definition: "But as an organization, as an industrial form, all these various forms and kinds of socialism are permeated with one common idea. That is, that the control of methods of production, that the control of capital — for, of course, socialists like everyone else concede the necessity of capital — that the control of capital shall be in the hands of the group and that there shall be no room for private rent, private interests, or private profits." The following definition of the Monroe Doctrine could be accepted because it is given by the eminent historian A. B. Hart: "I believe that during the fourscore years of its existence two principles have underlain it: (1) That Europe shall acquire no more territory for permanent occupation upon this continent; (2) that Europe shall affect the destinies of, that is, exert influence over, no American state."

C. Definition by illustration. In many instances it is easier to make clear what is meant by citing an example or illustration. An illustration is more tangible and concrete than an abstract definition. The Hon. Charles Smith defined reciprocity in trade agreements as follows: "Its principle rightly understood is axiomatic. Brazil grows coffee and makes no machinery. We make machinery and grow no coffee. She needs the fabric of our forges and factories, and we need the fruit of her tropical soil. We agree to concessions for her coffee, and she agrees to concessions for our machinery. That is reciprocity." It might be well to explain that the concessions mentioned by Mr. Smith are by way of a lower tariff on the imports mentioned. A definition of "medium of exchange" can best be made concrete by giving examples of what different countries use or have used for the purpose: the United States uses silver and other metals; the American Indian used wampum.

D. *Definition by exclusion.* Many times it may be well to explain what the question does *not* mean, so that there will be no confusion. Burke's definition of a desirable peace with the colonies is a famous illustration: "The proposition is peace. Not peace through the medium of war; not peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations; not peace to arise out of universal discord fomented, from principle, in all parts of the Empire; not peace to depend on the juridical determination of perplexing questions, or the precise markings of the shadowy boundaries of a complex government. It is simple peace; sought in its natural course, and in its natural haunts. It is peace sought in the spirit of peace, and laid in principles purely pacific."

Sometimes in defining the question, as distinguished from defining separate terms in the question, it is necessary to point out that some relevant matters or arguments are admitted by both sides, or that some point is to be left out of consideration. In a sense, stating what matter is admitted or waived is only carrying on the process of definition by exclusion. In the question of government ownership and operation of railroads, for instance, it would be well for the affirmative to point out that the question would deal only with railroads operating between states, admitting that the federal government should not own and operate a railroad which was entirely within the borders of one state. This would take out of the question immediately the question of street railways — or if there are street railway systems which cross state lines, then they also should be excluded from the question. The negative should agree to waive consideration of street railways and railroads not doing interstate business.

After a proposition has been defined, and its limits pointed out, it should then be restated in its clarified form.

IV. **Finding the Issues.** As has been suggested, the steps discussed so far may well appear in the introductory part of the speech delivered by the first affirmative speaker in a debate. He should not include more than is requisite for the purposes mentioned, those of giving the audience necessary information and arousing their

interest in the question, and laying a basis for the clash of argument which follows. The remainder of this chapter, however, deals with preparation which must take place in the search for and determination of the main issues; and while the issues themselves are of course stated in the debate, the labor of finding them is not gone through in the presence of the audience.

The issues are the fundamental questions in a debate about which the whole argument revolves. These questions must be satisfactorily answered either affirmatively or negatively if a conclusion is to be reached. Those upholding the affirmative side will give a direct "yes" to the questions or issues and proceed to support their affirmation. The negative will answer "no" and proceed with their proof.

Most **propositions of policy** have the same general issues. These are:

- I. Is there necessity for a change?
- II. Will the proposed change prove satisfactory?
- III. Is the proposed plan practicable?

Other statements of the issues might be these:

- I. Are conditions unsatisfactory at present?
- II. Will the proposed plan correct these conditions?
- III. Can the proposed plan be put into operation without entailing other difficulties or evils worse than the present bad conditions?

The affirmative will in each case answer "yes," while the negative will answer "no."

There are occasions when the negative will not care to make a fight on the first of these issues; that is, it may at once admit that there is necessity for some sort of change. As soon as the negative debaters so admit the first contention of the affirmative, however, then they must propose a different plan or remedy from that of the affirmative, and must proceed to establish it as better than the affirmative plan. The admission of the first affirmative argument strengthens the affirmative and compels the negative to as-

sume a burden of proof. In many cases the proposal of a "substitute plan" by the negative results in a poor debate, because each team is upholding a plan which is either untried or about which comparatively little is known; and the argument takes on a highly academic quality. The two teams may not even clash in direct argument, since each will be claiming that its own proposal has all the virtues of the other side's proposal with none of its faults, and neither side will say much about things as they are — which are the things that can be most accurately checked upon, and which the audience knows most about and is most interested in. A better debate is likely to result if the negative can conscientiously defend the plan which is actually in operation. Or the negative may admit that there are abuses at present, but that the fault lies in certain weaknesses which can be corrected rather than in the fundamental nature of the system. The negative's case will then be for the strengthening and improvement, rather than the giving up, of the present system.

Write down conflicting statements. To arrive at the main issues in a more precise form than the general statements already given, and to determine which issue is likely to arouse the greatest controversy, it is well, while studying the question, to write down conflicting statements under affirmative and negative headings. Doing so will have a double advantage, in that it gives food and information for one's thinking and at the same time leads one to the most controversial points. These statements or contentions can be *grouped, according as they relate to this or that idea*. You will find that statements so gathered are likely to deal with (1) what is good or bad in the present system, or with (2) how the proposed plan will act as an improvement or the opposite, or with (3) whether the proposed plan can be put into effective operation without undue expense or danger of new evils worse than the old.

Illustration of procedure in finding issues. Below will be found notes representing the steps in finding the issues upon the proposition, "*Resolved, That the federal government should own and operate the railroads of the United States.*"

THE ARGUMENTS FOR AFFIRMATIVE AND NEGATIVE

AFFIRMATIVE

Private ownership is resulting in railroad bankruptcy.

Government ownership is necessary to provide efficient service.

There is no prospect of future improvement under private ownership. Financially, railroads are in serious difficulty.

Operating revenues have steadily decreased.

Government ownership and operation would prevent the threatened financial collapse.

Present-day service is far from satisfactory.

Government ownership would make possible several important economies. There would be economies in handling freight and passengers.

Duplicating roads could be abandoned.

Cost of interest in railroad bonds could be reduced.

The number of high-salaried officials could be reduced.

Under private ownership, efficiency is impossible.

The plan is workable.

The purchase cost to the government need not be excessive.

There is no fear that politics would be involved.

Government credit would not be strained.

The government operates the postal system efficiently.

Government operation is absolutely necessary for national efficiency in time of war.

NEGATIVE

Private ownership has proved itself essentially sound.

Important economies have been effected.

Railroads are affected by depression and not by poor management.

Railroads are at a disadvantage in competition with other carriers.

American railroads are the most efficient in the world.

Government ownership would endanger the financial structure of the United States.

Government ownership would decrease railroad efficiency.

The Post Office invariably reports an annual deficit.

Politics would tend to decrease efficiency.

Costs on government construction projects are greater.

Unified operation would result in decreased efficiency.

Government ownership would put the railroads in politics.

The 26 months of federal operation resulted in a deficit of \$1,123,500,000.

It would tax the government credit.

It would be a step toward socialism.

Federal control during the first World War was a failure.

ARGUMENTS GROUPED UNDER MAIN HEADINGS

AFFIRMATIVE

- I. Government ownership and control of railroads is necessary.
 - A. Private ownership is resulting in bankruptcy.
 - B. Financially, railroads are in serious difficulty.
 - C. Operating revenues have steadily decreased.
 - D. Present-day service is far from satisfactory.
 - E. There is no prospect of improvement.
- II. Government ownership would prove beneficial.
 - A. It would provide efficient service.
 - B. It would prevent the threatened financial collapse.
 - C. Economies would result in handling freight and passengers.
 - D. Duplicating of roads could be abandoned.
 - E. Cost of interest on bonds could be reduced.
 - F. Number of high-salaried officials could be reduced.
 - G. It would be of great advantage to national defense.
- III. Government ownership is practicable.
 - A. The purchase price would not be excessive.
 - B. Government credit would not be strained.
 - C. Politics would not be a factor.
 - D. The government successfully operates the Post Office.

NEGATIVE

- I. There is no reason for government ownership.
 - A. Private ownership has proved itself sound.
 - B. Economies have been effected.
 - C. Railroads are affected by depression and not by poor management.
 - D. American railroads are the most efficient in the world.
- II. Government ownership would prove a detriment.
 - A. It would endanger the financial structure of the United States.
 - B. As with the Post Office, there would be an annual deficit.
 - C. Politics would tend to decrease efficiency.
 - D. Government contracts always cost more.
 - E. Unified operation would decrease efficiency.
 - F. It would be a step toward socialism.
- III. Government ownership would be impracticable.
 - A. It would involve the railroads in politics.
 - B. It failed to work during the World War.
 - C. Government ownership would be difficult to finance.

THE MAIN ISSUES

(which result from contrasting the main headings.)

- I. Is there a necessity for government ownership?
- II. Will government ownership prove beneficial?
- III. Is government ownership practicable?

Questions of fact. The foregoing method of finding issues was drawn from practice in handling questions of policy. The finding of issues for questions of fact is not quite so easy. It is not often that questions of fact are debated, but it is well to consider the problem of finding the issues with respect to this type of question. No general method can be suggested, because each question of fact is likely to have a unique set of issues.

Let us take as an example the proposition, "*Resolved*, That chain stores are a detriment to a community." The affirmative will naturally attempt to prove that there are undeniable disadvantages resulting from the presence of such stores in a community. The negative will then be bound to argue either (1) that the disadvantages cited by the affirmative do not so result or (2) that there are advantages in having chain stores that offset and overbalance the disadvantages. Or the negative might do both, to some extent; that is, argue (1) that some of the disadvantages claimed by the affirmative do not exist or are not serious and (2) that there are positive advantages. Strictly speaking, it is not the negative's duty to prove that chain stores help a community, but they do enough if they prove that these stores do not hurt it, are not a detriment. In actual practice, we are likely to find the main contentions of the two sides to be something like this:

Affirmative:

1. Chain stores drive out independent stores.
2. Chain stores drive out wholesale merchants.
3. Chain stores take more money out of the community than do independent stores.
4. Chain stores have no community interest.

Negative:

1. Chain stores benefit the community by cheaper prices to consumers.
2. Chain stores do not monopolize the retail business.
3. Chain stores have a community interest.

There is little real clash of issues here, except that the second negative argument clashes to some extent with the first affirmative, and the third negative argument clashes with the fourth affirmative. On these points, then, the affirmative and negative can really "lock horns." On other points, their task will be to clarify and magnify the respective disadvantage or advantage to such a degree that it will seem to outweigh some other advantage or disadvantage claimed by the other side. Even this brief analysis shows the difficulties in getting a good debate upon this sort of question, which hinges partly, in this instance, upon the definition of the word "detriment." It might be better to recast the question to something like this: "*Resolved*, That the taxing power of the state government should be used to discourage chain stores." Then we have a question of policy, and the contentions we have cited would belong under the first main issue, the question whether the present situation demands a change. (It may be noted that this issue is always a question of fact, even though the main proposition is one of policy.) This question of policy would suggest other and larger considerations. The affirmative might argue that chain stores tend to break down the traditional American system of free enterprise; the negative might choose to meet this issue "head on," or it could argue that chain stores are in line with other developments which are bringing about beneficial changes in the American system, changes which lead in the direction of a better organized and more efficient economy. Although the first issue, a question of fact, might still be the most important issue of the debate, the way is open for arguing other issues. The negative might fall back to second line of defense, so to speak, and argue that even if chain stores should be discouraged, the use of the taxing power of the state is the wrong method of holding them in check, and suggest another method as a "substitute plan."

SUMMARY

1. State reasons for present interest in the question.
 - a. Importance
 - b. Timeliness
2. Give the pertinent history of the question.
3. Define the terms in the question needing definition.
 - a. Dictionary
 - b. Authority
 - c. Illustration
 - d. By exclusion
 - (1) Note admitted or waived matter.
4. Find the issues.
 - a. Write down conflicting statements under affirmative and negative headings.
 - b. Combine statements on each side under main headings.
 - c. Select and state the main issues.

EXERCISES


1. Write out the introduction to some question. (See suggested list at the close of the exercise.)
2. Choose some question and write down the conflicting statements under affirmative and negative headings.
3. Select a local question and proceed to find its issues.
4. Prepare a five-minute talk on some question in which you are interested and, after a brief introduction, develop the necessity for your demand for action; state how your plan will eliminate evils which now exist; and how your plan can be put into effect.
5. Bring to class two questions for debate with a paragraph of not less than one hundred words on each subject explaining why it is of timely interest.
6. Write the history (not more than two hundred words) on each of the following debate questions:
 - a. The federal government should operate all public utilities.
 - b. No law should be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court without a two-thirds vote.

- c. Entrance examinations should be required for admission to this college.
7. What authorities would you use in defining the italicized words in the following questions:
 - a. *Socialism* is necessary for a purely democratic form of government.
 - b. *Technocracy* is a menace to the laboring class.
 - c. The federal government should undertake the construction of a *St. Lawrence Waterway*.
8. Show by comparison the advantage of using an authority in defining the propositions in Exercise 7 over a definition from a dictionary.
9. Go through the process of finding the issues for the question: There should be a sales tax in this state.

SUGGESTED LIST OF QUESTIONS

1. The present jury system should be abolished.
2. There should be a conscription of wealth in time of war.
3. There should be a permanent American Union, to include all countries in the Western hemisphere.
4. Chain stores are a detriment to a community.
5. The United States should adopt the British plan of radio control.
6. The honor system in examinations should be established in this college.
7. The President of the United States should have one term of six years.
8. The United States should join a new League of Nations.
9. Capital punishment should be abolished.
10. The thirteen-month calendar should be adopted.
11. The United States should have the largest navy of any nation in the world.
12. Athletes should not be subsidized.
13. Small colleges give better training to individual students than large colleges.
14. Prohibition of alcoholic liquors should be re-enacted.

15. Socialized medicine should be adopted in this state.
16. Lotteries should be permitted in this state.
17. This state should have a sales tax.
18. Military training should be compulsory in all American colleges.
19. A union of all democratic countries should be formed immediately.
20. The Negro suffers from unjust discrimination in the United States.



CHAPTER V

BRIEFING THE ARGUMENT

PREPARATION for debating includes discovery of the exact meaning of the question, decision on what you think about it and why, and arrangement of your thoughts (or the thoughts of all members of the team supporting one side of the question) for presentation. There are two useful tools for use when carrying on and recording these steps in preparation — the outline and the brief. This chapter will deal particularly with the brief, since it is the more important tool, the more difficult to master, and less familiar to the beginning debater.

A brief is a complete plan for an argument. It definitely shows where the different parts belong and their relative importance. It is as necessary to an argument as a blueprint to an architect. A builder does not start the construction of any room in his house until he plans the relation of that room to all other rooms. He doesn't say, "I will build the kitchen first," and then fit in the other parts of the house. Rather he works out the whole scheme and sees that every room, every door and window even, is in its proper proportion and its right relation to the whole house. He can also, by a glance at his blueprint, see the separate parts without making a study of the whole. The brief gives a picture of the whole argument and at the same time enables one, by its symbols and indentation, to study each part separately. To prepare a good brief is to show that you are master of your argument.

OUTLINE AND BRIEF

Although there is similarity between an outline and a brief, there is much difference. The outline is less full, and is intended to serve merely as a series of suggestions. A word or phrase is used in the outline to suggest how a step may be developed, while in the brief a complete statement is set down, and the more important steps or points are subdivided and supported by statements of proof.

The **outline** is of special service at two stages in the process of preparation; first, it serves as a rough jotting preparatory to making a brief; second, after the brief is made, each speaker may make an outline of his own part of the whole argument, in which the headings will suggest to him not only the points he is going to make but also how he is going to present these points to the audience.

The differences between outline and brief may be seen in the following illustrations, which deal with a single point in an argument:

THIRTEEN-MONTH CALENDAR

Outline

- I. Need for such a calendar
 - A. Present calendar inadequate
 - 1. Complications
 - a. Months of unequal length
 - b. Dates fall on different days
 - 2. Periods of earning unequal
 - 3. Necessitates new calendars each year
 - 4. Makes comparison difficult

Brief

- I. There is necessity for a thirteen-month calendar, for
 - A. The present system is inadequate, for
 - 1. It complicates reckoning of days and dates, for
 - a. The months are of unequal length.

- b. The months do not contain the same number of weeks.
- c. Dates do not fall on the same days of the week in different months.
- d. Holidays such as Memorial Day fall on different days of the week in different years.
- 2. It makes periods of earnings unequal, for
 - a. Some months contain more days than others.
- 3. It necessitates the printing of millions of calendars each year, for
 - a. The days of the week and month fall on different dates in successive years.

RULES FOR BRIEFING

There are certain rules that are fairly conventional; they will be seen to agree with common sense and logic.

1. A brief should be divided into an Introduction, Proof, and Conclusion.

Each of these divisions should be complete in itself so far as symbols are concerned. (Note: These three divisions are not themselves numbered; that is, the Introduction is not I, Proof II, and Conclusion III; *numbering begins within each division*, as indicated below.)

Introduction

- I. The question is of interest
 - A. ----
 - B. ----
- II. The pertinent history of the question is as follows:
 - A. ----
 - B. ----
- III. ----
- IV. ----

Proof

- I. There is necessity for a change, for
 - A. ----
 - B. ----
- II. ----

Conclusion

I. ----

II. ----

2. **Each heading of the brief should be a complete statement.** It is confusing to include anything less than a complete statement, clean-cut and definite, so that we know what it stands for and what it demands in proof. A word or phrase may be interpreted in many ways. The following illustration will exemplify the difference:

I. Necessity for payment

A. Credit

B. Future needs

The indefiniteness of the above is rectified by the following:

I. There is a necessity for the allied nations to pay their war debts, for

A. Their credit is at stake.

B. If unable to borrow in the future, they might suffer greater losses than the present amount of the debts.

3. **Each heading of the brief should consist of but one statement.**

It is a common tendency to include two or more statements in a single heading, or to write catch-all headings. This is confusing, especially when you attempt to support the double or multiple statement by subheadings which may apply to only part of it. For instance:

I. Countries are able to pay and are paying, for

A. They are spending huge sums on armaments.

The supporting statement may serve as proof that they are able to pay but it does not prove in the least that they are paying. A double subject will involve the same difficulty; for instance,

I. Finland and Belgium are able to pay their debts.

The proof which would apply to one would not necessarily apply to the other. Let us deal with the first, thus,

A. Finland is able to pay her debts,

and when we have offered proof for this statement then take the second,

B. Belgium is able to pay her debts,

and submit the proof for this.

4. The Introduction of the brief should contain all the steps necessary for an understanding of the question.

These steps in the analysis of the question should not be confused, but each one should be separated, with co-ordinate symbols. The steps which may appear have been discussed in Chapter IV, and are as follows:

- I. Reasons for the present interest in the question
- II. History of the question
- III. Definition and limitation
- IV. Contrasted contentions of supporters and opponents of the proposition
- V. Statement of main issues

In many instances it will not be necessary to bring in all of these steps. In some cases the history (Part II) can be omitted; Part IV is usually omitted from the completed brief, but may be included in the early stages of preparation.

5. The Introduction should not contain statements which need proof.

Since the Introduction is designed to clarify the background of the argument, it should include only such statements as can be admitted by both sides. It is true that some of the history may be used in the Proof proper to support certain contentions, but there should be no inclinations to use these historical facts as proof in the Introduction proper. Hence the steps in the Introduction should not be followed by the connectives *for* or *because*, since these conjunctions presuppose a proof of that which they follow. The statements are expository rather than argumentative. The following example will exemplify the expository nature of the Introduction.

- I. Recent agitation by businessmen has aroused interest in the revision of the calendar.
 - II. The pertinent history of the question includes the following facts.
 - A. The present calendar is the result of arbitrary changes made in the old Julian calendar.
 1. In 1582 dates were changed, in that
 - a. Throughout Catholic countries ten days were dropped from the calendar by decree of the Pope.
 2. In 1752, England dropped eleven days to bring its calendar into line with that of the rest of Europe.
 3. Several large business concerns are already using the thirteen-month calendar.
 - III. The thirteen-month plan is defined as follows:
 - A. The year would consist of thirteen months and a day.
 - B. The extra day would come between the last day of one year and the first of the next year.
 - C. Each of the thirteen months would contain 28 days.
 - D. Every month would begin on Sunday and end on Saturday.
6. Each step throughout the brief should have a symbol and indentation which indicate its relative position in the argument.

Symbols

- I., for
 - A., for
 1., for
 - a., for
 - (1), for
 - (a), for
 2.,
 - B.,
- II.,

If proper symbols and indentations are used one can tell at a glance where a statement belongs in relation to the steps which precede and follow it.

Incorrect

- A. There is no need for an honor system at Old Line College, for
 - I. The present system has proved satisfactory, for
 - A. Instances of cheating are rare, for
 - 1. A student does not want to risk his reputation by cheating.

Correct

- I. There is no need for an honor system at Old Line College, for
 - A. The present system has proved satisfactory, for
 - 1. Instances of cheating are rare, for
 - a. A student does not want to risk his reputation by cheating.

The meaning is obvious when the correct form is used, for one sees immediately the logical development of the different steps in the argument.

The margin of each step should not be violated by allowing the second line of a statement to extend further to the left than the symbol itself.

Incorrect

- I. The honor system would not be practicable at Old Line College, for
 - A. It has already been tried here and proved a failure, for
 - 1. Those students who wanted an honor system were mostly those who wished to gain a new opportunity for cheating.

Correct

- I. The honor system would not be practicable at Old Line College, for
 - A. It has already been tried here and proved a failure, for
 - 1. Those students who wanted an honor system were mostly those who wished to gain a new opportunity for cheating.

7. In the Proof each statement should logically support the statement to which it is subordinated.

Each statement must be so placed that it will indicate what it helps to prove. The Roman numerals indicate the main issues and are a direct proof of the proposition itself. The statements using the capital letters for their symbols are proofs of those with Roman numerals. This pattern of statement and support continues through all the subheads.

Proper subordination of one statement to another may be determined by the kind of connective which can be used between them. If *for* is the right connective, then you may feel that the subordinate step helps to prove the preceding statement. If *therefore*, *but*, or *and* makes sense, then you may be sure that your statement is not subordinate and is not in proper logical relation. (Notice that *and* is a proper connective between two co-ordinate statements, both of which help support the statement to which they are subordinated.) Examine the illustrations under Rule 6 or in the model brief below and you will see that *therefore*, *but*, or *and* will not take the place of *for*.

8. If the statement is from an authority, state in parentheses the source of the evidence. For instance:

- I. The rule of unlimited debate in the Senate is expensive to the country, for
 - A. Filibusters are in themselves expensive.
 - B. Filibusters encourage fiscal extravagance, for
 - 1. The Senate will pass needless appropriations under threat of a filibuster. (F. L. Burdette, *Filibustering in the Senate*, p. 232)

9. In briefing points of refutation, state clearly the argument to be refuted.

Many times it is not clear what statement the debater is attempting to refute. If you are going to take time to attack an opposing argument you should be sure that your brief shows exactly what that argument is. In putting the opponent's argument into the brief, however, your handling of it must be such that the refutation becomes a positive argument for your proposition, thus:

- A. (Refutation) The argument that the present calendar is satisfactory is unsound, for
1. The present calendar is greatly complicated, for
 - a. Each month begins on a different day.
 - b. Months are not of the same length.

10. The Conclusion should contain a restatement of the main issues, followed by an affirmation or denial of the proposition itself.

Conclusion

- I. Since the United States is in danger of war;
- II. Since a large navy will serve to prevent war;
- III. Since only a two-ocean navy will serve to prevent all possible wars;

Therefore, the United States should increase its navy to twice its present size.

SPECIMEN BRIEF¹

Resolved: That the federal government should own and operate the railroads of the United States.

Introduction

- I. The question is of great interest.
 - A. The railroad industry is vitally important to the welfare of the people of the United States.
 1. Our economic structure requires an efficiently operating system of railroads.
 - a. Our economic system is based on industrial specialization in areas best adapted for production of certain commodities, with national distribution of commodities produced.
 - b. Railroads are the most important agency of transportation between sections of the country.
 - (1) Railroads carry 65 per cent of all freight transported within the nation.

¹ With slight adaptation, this brief is from *The Railroad Problem*, by Prof. H. B. Summers and Robert E. Summers, Vol. 13, No. 2 of the Reference Shelf, published by the H. W. Wilson Co., and here used by permission of the publisher.

- (2) Excluding transportation of gasoline and natural gas by pipe lines, and shipment of bulk commodities on the Great Lakes, railroads carry 87 per cent of our inland freight traffic.
- 2. Efficient railroad transportation is of vital importance in time of war, as an agency of national defense.
 - a. Troops and supplies must be moved to threatened areas, or to seaports for shipment overseas.
 - b. Dependence of our defense machine on railroad transportation was proved by our experience in 1917.
- 3. The financial stability of the nation is tied up with the well-being of the railroads.
 - a. Over 865,000 individuals have investments in railroad stocks totaling 7 billion dollars.
 - b. Banks and insurance companies combined have an investment of over 11 billion dollars in railroad bonds.

II. The history of the question is as follows:

- A. The federal government has, since 1887, maintained an increasing control of rates through the Interstate Commerce Commission.
- B. The federal government took over complete control of the railroads in 1917 for two years.

III. The question is to be limited as follows:

- A. The railroads to be included in this question are those engaged in interstate traffic in either freight or passenger service.

IV. There are three main issues arising from this question:

- A. Is government ownership and operation necessary?
- B. Will government ownership and operation be beneficial?
- C. Will government ownership and operation be practicable?

Proof

- I. Government ownership and operation of railroads is necessary, for
 - A. Private ownership is resulting in railroad bankruptcy and financial collapse, for
 - 1. The financial situation of the roads has steadily grown

- worse during the past ten years, for
- a. Operating revenues have steadily decreased, for
 - (1) Volume of traffic over railroads has declined.
 - (2) Increases in rates have had the effect of producing further declines.
 - b. Operating expenses, per unit transported, have increased, for
 - (1) Wages paid to labor have increased.
 - (2) With decreased volume of traffic, the per-unit costs of management have increased greatly.
 - c. Fixed charges, per unit transported, have also increased, for
 - (1) The aggregate annual interest on railroad bonds has remained almost level.
 - (2) With marked decreases in traffic, the per-unit cost of interest charges has increased.
 - d. Railroad credit has been very severely strained, for
 - (1) Unpaid interest on outstanding bonds amounts to more than 100 million dollars per year.
 - (2) Railroad stocks yield interest of less than 2 per cent.
 - (3) Average market value of railroad bonds is only 80 per cent of par; of railroad stocks only 45 per cent of par.
2. There is no prospect of future improvement under private ownership, for
- a. A continuation of present policies will not improve the railroad situation.
 - b. None of the major reforms suggested is likely to be effective, for
 - (1) Increased credits expended by the government will merely increase railroad debts upon which interest must be paid.
 - (2) A more lenient policy in granting higher rates would not improve conditions, for
 - (a) Higher railroad rates will tend to drive a larger proportion of total traffic to trucks and waterways.

- (3) Regulation of buses, trucks, and barge lines will not help the railroads, for
 - (a) Competitors of railroads may not be driven out of business through rates high enough to be confiscatory.
 - (b) As long as the competitive agencies exist, they will continue to handle much of the business formerly handled by railroads.
 - (c) Trucks, buses, and pipe lines can give better service in certain types of hauling than railroads can give.
- (4) A consolidation of railroad facilities might help, but such consolidation is not probable, for
 - (a) Railroads have shown no disposition to decrease their bonded indebtedness and fixed charges, even when revenues were great enough to make possible the retirement of bonds.
- B. Efficient railroad service is essential to our national welfare and safety, for
 - 1. The public is entitled to maximum service at minimum costs.
 - 2. We must have a system capable of handling emergency traffic conditions arising in the event of war, for
 - a. War would demand the transportation of millions of men and millions of tons of freight to danger zones, or to points of embarkation, with maximum speed.
 - b. This traffic would be in addition to normal movement of passengers and freight in times of peace.
- C. The privately owned railroad systems we have today cannot provide the standard of efficiency demanded, for
 - 1. Present-day service is far from satisfactory, for
 - a. Passenger service available to the public is inadequate, for
 - (1) The number of trains operated has been reduced by 30 to 50 per cent in most sections of the country.

- (2) Only a small proportion of trains operated give passengers the advantages of speed, air-conditioning, and modern seating and lighting facilities.
- (3) The loss of passenger traffic to bus lines indicates public dissatisfaction with railroad service.
- b. Freight service is equally unsatisfactory, for
 - (1) Freight service is slow and rates are high.
 - (2) Railroads are slow to improve service to shippers, for
 - (a) Only recently have railroads begun to experiment with a pick-up system.
 - (3) Loss of traffic to trucks indicates a failure on the part of the railroads to provide adequate service.
- c. Railroads have allowed their physical properties to deteriorate, for
 - (1) Rolling stock and tracks are in poor condition, for
 - (a) Expenditures for repairs have been only half as large as needed for years.
 - (b) The increasing number of wrecks indicates that equipment is not in good condition.
 - (2) There is a growing shortage of rolling stock, for
 - (a) Supplies of cars and locomotives have been decreased one-fourth in the last ten years.
 - (b) The decrease in number of cars and locomotives is continuing.
- d. Operation of railroads by hundreds of competing companies makes for inefficiencies in operation, for
 - (1) Car shortages exist in some localities, while surpluses are to be found in other localities.
 - (2) Freight is not routed over the most direct roads, or over roads where traffic could be handled most effectively, for
 - (a) Interlocking stock ownership results in efforts by each road to route shipments over related roads, instead of over those of competitors.

- (3) There is no unity of policy in railroad operation.
- 2. The American railroad system is in no condition to meet the emergency demands of a war, for
 - a. The poor condition of tracks and equipment would result in a general breakdown of service under emergency conditions.
 - b. The present supply of cars and locomotives is far short of wartime emergency requirements.
 - c. There is a shortage of trained operating personnel, for
 - (1) Reduction in number of railroad employees to half the number required during the World War has also eliminated nearly all the younger men.
 - d. Lack of unified management would make it impossible, for
 - (1) This was shown by our experience during the early months of American participation in the World War.
- 3. Under private ownership, maximum efficiency is impossible, for
 - a. Private ownership prevents consolidation of roads into a single system.
 - b. Private ownership makes it impossible to bring equipment up to necessary standards of efficiency, for
 - (1) The railroad management cannot raise the money needed to purchase new equipment and keep old equipment in repair.
- II. Government ownership and operation would prove a benefit, for
 - A. A large part of the \$55,000,000 now spent for salaries for high railroad officials could be saved.
 - B. Economies in handling of freight and passengers could be instituted, for
 - 1. With railroads operated as a single unified system, roundabout routing of traffic to favor "related" roads would disappear.
 - 2. Duplicating roads could be abandoned, where their continued operation is no longer needed.

3. With money available for new equipment, obsolete equipment could be scrapped and more efficient cars and locomotives secured, which could be operated at less cost, for
 - a. Railroad experience shows that the costs of operation of streamlined light-weight trains is much less, per passenger mile, than the operating costs of the old-fashioned heavy train.
- C. Much of the present cost of interest on railroad bonds could be saved, for
 1. Government bonds substituted for outstanding railroad bonds would have a much lower rate of interest than the 5 or 6 per cent now paid by railroads.
 2. Through slow amortization, the government could gradually retire the bonds issued to purchase the railroads, and save the entire amount now paid in interest and dividends.
- D. Government ownership and operation would prevent the threatened financial collapse, for
 1. The investor in railroad securities would be protected by receiving government bonds in place of the stocks or bonds of private roads.
 2. Under government ownership, losses in operation of less profitable lines would be offset by earnings of more profitable roads.
 3. Under government ownership, economies would be effected which would greatly reduce cost of operation.
- E. Under government ownership, railroads could be brought up to desired standards of efficiency, for
 1. Government-owned roads would be operated as a single system, using trackage and equipment to best advantage, for
 - a. The increased efficiency of unified management was demonstrated during the World War.
 2. The government would provide the funds necessary to purchase needed equipment and make necessary repairs in rolling stock and roadbed, for
 - a. Money so used would not only contribute to national

defense, but would also serve as a stimulus to production and employment.

3. With government ownership, railroads could be operated primarily for service and to provide for the national defense, rather than for profit.

III. Government ownership would be practicable, for

A. Government credit would not be strained by purchasing the railroads, for

1. Government bonds would simply be exchanged for present railroad stocks and bonds, for
 - a. If desired, only railroad stocks might be taken up at the beginning through exchange for government bonds, and railroad bonds retired only as they mature.
2. The purchase cost to the government need not be excessive, for
 - a. Although the book value of railroad properties is nearly 26 billion dollars, the depreciated replacement value is nearly 8 billion dollars less.
 - b. On the basis of earning power, the value of the railroads is less than 12 billion dollars, for
 - (1) Current market values of railroad stocks at 45 per cent of par, and of railroad bonds at 80 per cent of par, give a total of 11 billion 950 million dollars.

B. There is no reason to fear that politics would enter into railroad management, for

1. World War operation was entirely free from politics.
2. To safeguard against political influence, the device could be used of forming a corporation to which management of the railroads could be given.

C. The charge that government operation would be less efficient than private operation is without foundation, for

1. During the World War, federal control resulted in greater efficiency than private control.
2. Under public ownership and control, we have efficiently operated our postal system and our public schools, and have built such conspicuous successes as the Panama

Canal, Boulder Dam, and our nationwide system of federal highways.

Conclusion

Since we have shown (I) that government ownership and operation is made necessary by present conditions, (II) that government ownership and operation would be beneficial, in that it would correct or improve the present conditions, and (III) that it is in every way practicable for the government to take over the ownership and carry on the operation of the railroads, therefore

The federal government should own and operate the railroads of the United States.

Negative: Proof

- I. There is no necessity for a change to government ownership and operation, for
 - A. Private ownership and operation has proved itself to be essentially sound, for
 1. Our entire industrial development, surpassing that of any other nation of the world, has been carried on under private ownership.
 2. Every major invention or scientific advance has come into use through the fostering of a private enterprise.
 3. The American railroads themselves are proof of the success of private ownership and operation, for
 - a. Under private ownership, American railroads have introduced more improvements than have taken place in all of the government-owned railroads combined.
 - b. American shippers get more rapid and more efficient railroad service over a wider territory than can be had in any nation in which government ownership exists.
 - c. Rates charged by privately owned American railroads for transportation of freight and passengers are lower than those in 90 per cent of foreign countries, and lower than those in any foreign nation having

an area to be served at all similar to that in the United States.

- B. The present condition of the railroads is not a reflection upon the efficiency of American railroad service, for
1. According to the Committee of Six, the causes of the present crisis are (*a*) economic depression, and (*b*) competition of other agencies.
 2. Depression has reduced the total volume of traffic to be hauled.
 3. Competition of other carriers has reduced the proportion of traffic hauled by the railroads, for
 - a.* Railroads are at a serious disadvantage in competition with other carriers, for
 - (1) Rates charged by railroads are fixed by the government; rates charged by buses, trucks, and barge lines are subject to little or no control.
 - (2) Railroads have heavy investment in roadbed and tracks on which interest must be paid; motor carriers and barge lines use "roadbeds" built by the government.
 - (3) Railroads must pay costs of maintenance of roadbeds; motor carriers and barge lines use roadbeds which are maintained at state expense.
 - (4) Railroads pay taxes on tracks and right-of-way; motor carriers and barge lines use state-constructed right-of-way on which they pay no taxes.
 - (5) Railroads, by their charters, are obliged to give regular service regardless of weather conditions; motor carriers and barge lines have no requirements as to regularity of service.
 - (6) Railroads receive no operating subsidies from the government; barge lines, at least, are heavily subsidized.
- C. Under normal business conditions, and under conditions of fair competition with motor carriers and barge lines, railroads will regain full financial stability, for
1. Business revival will increase railroad traffic, and railroad operating income, for

- a. Net railroad operating income of 38 major companies was a third greater during the first six months of 1939 than during the first six months of 1938.
 2. Important economies in operation have already been effected, which will strengthen the position of the roads.
 3. Enactment of legislation creating fair conditions of competition between railroads and other carriers will restore to the railroads their fair portion of total traffic.
 4. The fact that several roads are in receivership is not significant, for
 - a. The proportion of roads in receivership is no greater than the proportion of concerns in financial difficulty in other fields of production.
 - b. Many railroads have been in receivership in other years, and have returned to a profitable condition.
- II. Government ownership of railroads would prove to be detrimental, for
 - A. It is a long step in the direction of government control of all important agencies of production, for
 1. In Germany and Italy, government ownership of railroads was accompanied by government ownership of telegraph and telephone lines, of radio broadcasting, of electric power utilities, and by almost 100 per cent control over every form of business.
 2. Every argument that can be advanced for government ownership of railroads can be advanced just as logically in support of government ownership of telegraph and telephone lines, of coal mines, of steel production, or of any other productive enterprise.
 - B. Government ownership would endanger the financial structure of the United States, for
 1. To purchase the railroads would increase the present enormous government debt by \$26,000,000,000.
 2. To pay interest on this additional debt alone would require that federal taxes be increased by nearly 1 billion dollars per year, or nearly \$40 per family.
 3. In addition, state and local taxes would have to be increased to offset the loss of railroad taxes, for

- a. Local communities would lose the \$350,000,000 now paid in taxes by railroads each year.
 - 4. Financial experts question the ability of the government to carry an increased debt burden at the present time, or to increase taxes by an additional billion dollars.
 - C. Government ownership and operation would lead to decreased railroad efficiency, for
 - 1. Government enterprises have rarely been efficiently operated, for
 - a. The Post Office almost invariably reports an annual deficit.
 - b. Costs on government construction projects are invariably higher than costs on similar private projects.
 - c. The Alaskan Railroad operates consistently at a loss.
 - d. Government-owned barge lines report deficits each year.
 - 2. Unified operation would result in decreased efficiency, for
 - a. With competition between roads eliminated, no incentive would remain for efficient operation.
 - 3. Politics would tend to decrease operating efficiency, for
 - a. Political appointees would hold all major offices, for
 - (1) All major Post Office administrative appointments are political.
- III. Government ownership of railroads would be impracticable, for
 - A. Rates, construction, and service would be made political footballs, for
 - 1. Every Congressman would attempt to secure advantages for his constituents, at the expense of the railroads.
 - B. Railroad jobs would become political spoils, to be filled by loyal party workers, for
 - 1. The situation would be similar to that in the W. P. A.
 - C. The million railroad employees would compose a political bloc capable of swinging any national election.
 - D. Experience with government control of railroads shows that costs increase and efficiency decreases, for

1. All of the state-owned railroads in the United States have had to be turned over to private management.
2. The Canadian National Railroad operates at a loss, while the Canadian Pacific earns a profit each year.
3. Federal control during the World War proves the inefficiency of government operation, for
 - a. Under federal control, operating costs were increased by 83 per cent, or more than 2 billion dollars per year.
 - b. The 26 months of federal operation resulted in a deficit of \$1,123,500,000.

Conclusion

Since we have shown (I) that present conditions in the railroad industry do not make a change to government ownership and operation necessary, (II) that government ownership and operation would prove detrimental rather than beneficial, and (III) that government ownership and operation would be impracticable, therefore

The federal government should not own and operate the railroads of the United States.


SUMMARY: RULES FOR BRIEFING

1. A brief should be divided into an Introduction, Proof, and Conclusion.
2. Each heading of the brief should be a complete statement.
3. Each heading of the brief should consist of but one statement.
4. The Introduction of the brief should contain all the steps necessary for an understanding of the question.
5. The Introduction should not contain statements which need proof.
6. Each step throughout the brief should have a symbol and indentation which indicate its relative position in the argument.
7. In the Proof, each statement should logically support the statement to which it is subordinated.

8. If the statement is from an authority, state, in parentheses, the source of the evidence.
9. In briefing points of refutation, state clearly the argument to be refuted.
10. The Conclusion should contain a restatement of the main issues, followed by an affirmation or denial of the proposition itself.

EXERCISES

1. Submit a brief upon the question which you intend to debate.
2. Brief a five-minute speech on any subject where action is the objective.
3. Take a speech as printed in the newspaper or *Vital Speeches*, and submit a brief of it.
4. Brief both sides of the debate between Lincoln and Douglas which may be found in the Appendix.



CHAPTER VI

EVIDENCE

THE first major task of the debater, as we have seen, is to find the main issues involved in the proposition. The second major task, which we shall now examine, is to establish either negative or affirmative conclusions with respect to these issues. These conclusions and the arguments supporting them, we say, are the *proof* of the proposition; they tell *why* we should accept the proposal. The law courts of the nation have said: **Proof is the sufficient reason for assenting to a proposition as true;** and they have added that proof is thought to be sufficient when it convinces one “beyond a reasonable doubt.”

Proof is the staff of life to debating. It is all too true, of course, that many of our friends argue vehemently without any proof at their command; indeed, it may even be said that vehemence in “bull session” debating is in direct proportion to the lack of adequate proof. But there is nothing old-fashioned about the Apostle Paul’s advice to the Thessalonians, given in an age long past: “Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.” A debater “proves all things” by facts and by reasoning, the two constituents of proof. Lincoln once explained the relation between these two elements of proof. In one of his debates with Douglas, Lincoln pointed out what he conceived to be the logical reason for Douglas’s refusal to accept the Chase Amendment. Since Judge Douglas refused to accept his view, Lincoln said:

And now I say again, if this was not the reason, it will avail the Judge much more to calmly and good-humoredly point out to these people what that other reason was for voting the amendment down. . . . If I have brought forward anything not a fact, if he will point it out, it will not even ruffle me to take it back. But if he will not point out anything erroneous in the evidence, is it not rather for him to show by a comparison of the evidence that I have reasoned falsely, than to call [me] a liar? If I have reasoned to a false conclusion, it is the vocation of an able debater to show by argument that I have wandered to an erroneous conclusion.

As Lincoln intimated, reasoning is based upon facts or, in another word, upon evidence. Thus we shall in this chapter scrutinize the nature, the kinds, the uses, and the tests of evidence, reserving to the next chapter a discussion of reasoning in its relation to proof.

EVIDENCE FOR QUESTIONS OF FACT

Two of the most profound interests of the American people to-day are their reverence for scientific achievement and their vigilance in protecting individual liberties by legal procedure. We are so accustomed to the practice of laboratory investigation in scientific research that we think it incredible that anyone would ever have tried to solve scientific problems while cushioned in an arm-chair. We know now that only carefully collected factual evidence gives us the means for learning scientific truth. In like manner, we know that legal truth is obtained through the presentation of evidence. It is natural for us to ask for the facts in the case when we hear that an important trial is being conducted. We should think it the rankest folly if someone were to suggest that the guilt or innocence of the accused person should be determined by his carrying a red-hot iron, or by fighting a battle with a hired duellist. Yet exactly those means of settling disputes were used in the law courts of England before 1100 A.D. From science and its methods, a debater can learn the criteria of truth and the value that must be attached to evidence. But it is from the practice of modern law that the debater derives his most workable theories of evidence.

Jeremy Bentham, a great legal philosopher, wrote that though there are at least 27 different kinds of evidence, there are only two basic categories: direct evidence and indirect evidence. We call **direct evidence** that which comes from those who testify from observation and experience. **Indirect evidence**, on the other hand, consists of established facts from which inferences or conclusions may be drawn. A man may see another one strike a blow and fell the victim: this eyewitness's account will be *direct* testimony or evidence. Since very few murderers call in witnesses for their deeds, true judgment must often wait upon the collection of facts, which, when analyzed and linked together, establish a conclusion no less convincing than the word of the eyewitness. Proof in this situation makes use of *indirect* evidence. Thomas Henry Huxley well illustrates the difference between direct and indirect evidence: "Suppose that a man tells you that he saw a person strike another and kill him; that is testimonial [direct] evidence of the fact of murder. But it is possible to have circumstantial [indirect] evidence of the fact of murder; that is to say, you may find a man dying with a wound upon his head having exactly the form and character of the wound which is made by an ax, and, with due care in taking surrounding circumstances into account, you may conclude with the utmost certainty that the man has been murdered; and that his death is the consequence of a blow inflicted by another man with the implement." Further related facts, such as finding a man in the vicinity with such an implement and with a motive for the crime would be likely to result in the conclusion that he was guilty of the crime.

Direct and indirect evidence are used in solving questions of fact; such as: *Resolved*, That Captain Turner of the *Lusitania* was guilty of negligence; *Resolved*, That Professor Jones should be dropped from the faculty because of indiscretions; *Resolved*, That Bill Strong is guilty of breaking the honor code; *Resolved*, That Bruno Richard Hauptmann is guilty of kidnaping Charles Augustus Lindbergh, Jr.

The trial of Bruno Richard Hauptmann offers an excellent ex-

ample of the use of direct and indirect evidence. Since no one actually saw Hauptmann abduct the child, the prosecution (which is the same as the affirmative in a debate) relied, for the most part, upon indirect or circumstantial evidence to show guilt. The affirmative proved that the ladder found on the scene of the crime was built by Hauptmann: a bill of sale from a Bronx lumber yard identified him as the buyer of the wood used in the ladder; one rung of the ladder had formerly been a piece of flooring in his attic; and the tool marks on the ladder were exactly similar to marks made by Hauptmann's plane and chisel. A second piece of damaging indirect evidence was the matching of the handwriting in the ransom notes with Hauptmann's handwriting in the notes taken at the court. Third, when he was arrested, Hauptmann had some of the marked ransom money on his person, and had over \$14,000 of it in a secret hiding place in his garage. Fourth, Hauptmann's financial status took a remarkable and mysterious change for the better shortly after the ransom was paid. He quit his job on April 2, the same day the ransom was paid, though his total assets were less than \$5,000. Yet on the day when he was arrested, his total assets were \$40,000. Fifth, he had written in a closet of his home the telephone number and the address of Mr. Condon, the liaison man between Colonel Lindbergh and the kidnaper. Sixth, the affirmative showed that his character was that of a man who could perform this deed. He had already committed three burglaries and one robbery; he had made one escape from a prison; he had stowed away in order to enter the United States. Though the prosecution used direct evidence also, these major items of indirect evidence played the determining role in the outcome of the trial.

The defense, which is the same as the negative, relied almost solely upon direct or testimonial evidence to prove that Hauptmann was not guilty of the kidnaping. The negative called witnesses to the stand to show that Hauptmann was not near the scene of the crime on the night of March 1 when it was committed, nor near the place where the ransom money was paid on the night of April 2. It was, therefore, necessary for the prosecution or affirma-

tive to prove that the witnesses supplying this direct evidence could not be believed. The prosecution showed that Elvert Carlstrom, who said that he saw Hauptmann in Fredericksen's bakery on the night of the kidnaping, had not, that night, left his home in Dunellen, N. J. Louis Kiss said that he went to the Bronx on the night of March 1 to deliver "two pints whiskey," and that he saw Hauptmann there. But he finally admitted that the whiskey had not been delivered until ten days later. No credence could be placed in the testimony of August Van Henke, for the prosecution showed him to be the proprietor of a speak-easy, and the possessor of two aliases. Benjamin Heier claimed that it was not Hauptmann who jumped over the wall of the cemetery the night the ransom was paid, but another man. Unfortunately for this witness, the affirmative proved that he had been in an automobile accident, eight miles away, at the very moment the ransom was being paid. Another witness was shown to be a professional witness who testified for a price and who was willing to change his testimony if the price was not forthcoming. Still another had been lodged in jail. Thus the prosecution destroyed the validity of the direct evidence advanced by the defense, and at the same time, using primarily indirect evidence, advanced a preponderance of proof establishing the guilt of Hauptmann beyond a reasonable doubt.

It is true that a debater does not usually have witnesses on the platform from whom he can elicit direct or testimonial evidence, though some recent forms of debating are inclining towards this method. The debater can, however, go to the printed page for opinions on various points. Opinions or quotations from authority are direct evidence. If a social worker in a certain city says that people on relief are losing their self-respect, that is direct evidence; its weight depends upon how good an observer the social worker is, how many people on relief he knows, and so on. The tendency in debating is to quote too much from authority, though it is obvious that one's case should be based upon the best thought upon the subject. Quotations should be used with care, for we know that opinions differ, and we know that some opinion is worthless. The

fallibility of direct evidence is illustrated by this story from Wigmore's famous book on evidence:

A stout Negress came before a New York magistrate, complaining that her husband had made a barbarous attack upon her with a large pair of shears.

"Mistah Judge," she bellowed, "Dis here Niggah, he rushed at me wid dese scissors! Yes, suh. An' he cut an' slashed mah face mos' to ribbons! He jabbed mah eyes and carved my face like it was sausage meat — all torn and bleedin' it wuz! "

The magistrate looked at her broad, smooth, yellow countenance, on which appeared not the slightest sign of conflict.

"When did you say this happened?" he inquired.

"Only las' night, Mistah Judge," was the reply.

"Only last night. But I don't see any marks on your face."

"Marks!" she roared, "Marks! What de debbil do I care for marks? I'se got witnesses."

TESTS OF DIRECT EVIDENCE

We should apply to all evidence from authority the following tests:

1. **The authority must be capable.** We must be certain that the person quoted is a specialist in his field. Often the best authority is the debater himself: he can speak with assurance on the working of the honor system, or he can report firsthand knowledge about the system of relief or the plan of self-government used in his home town. When presenting yourself as an authority, neither apologize nor boast, but accord to yourself the same sort of well-contained respect that you hold towards others. The debater should not be like Huey Long, who stated that he was the ablest statesman of his time, and when asked for proof, replied: "It doesn't need proof. I admit it." On the other hand, he shouldn't be like Uriah Heep and insist, "Can't you see how humble I am?"

Maintain a scrupulous care in stating the opinions of others. Partial statements may be grossly misleading. Do not say "Mr. Richard Roe, a high government official, has stated, 'I believe in Communism,'" if Mr. Richard Roe has actually said, "I believe

in Communism, *if* an ideal social order could exist, with ideal people to run it.”

2. **The authority should not be prejudiced.** (a) It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between a capable authority who comes to a certain conclusion and a partisan who comes to the same conclusion as a result of what we call prejudice. The difference lies in the fact that the capable authority keeps an open mind until he has investigated every phase of the question, while the person who is prejudiced starts out with a firm conviction that only one conclusion can be drawn. The prejudiced man colors many of the facts he finds; some others he will shunt aside as unworthy of consideration. In short, his desire is father of his conclusion. The boy who wants a car has no difficulty in persuading himself that a car would save money for his father. An admiral in the navy would be a capable authority on the speed and power of battleships, but possibly a prejudiced authority on the necessity for increasing the strength of the navy. A student at Old Line Prep can be relied upon to answer capably inquiries on tuition, facilities, and enrollment, but he might be prejudiced if he were to answer a question on the relative merits of Old Line and her chief rival.

(b) Evidence has added strength when it is given reluctantly. When given contrary to the natural desires of the witness, evidence gathers strength; its persuasive and argumentative value is high. The driver who is forced to admit that he was driving at the rate of 60 miles an hour when the collision occurred has done much to strengthen the case for the opposition.

Stephen Douglas once maintained in a debate that Lincoln had voted against appropriating supplies for the Army during the Mexican War. Mr. Fichlin, a strong adherent of Douglas, was on the platform. Lincoln turned to Mr. Fichlin and leading him to the front of the rostrum said: “Mr. Fichlin knows that what Judge Douglas has said is a lie, for he sat beside me in Congress and knows that I never voted against the supplies for the Army.”

Mr. Fichlin, in great confusion, said: “My recollection is that Mr. Lincoln voted for that resolution.”

3. **The authority should carry weight with the audience.** Debating is not only a rational procedure formulated to match wits; it is also a project in persuasion designed to convince the audience. When possible, therefore, it is wise to use as authorities those who are favorably known to the audience. Sometimes, even with an entirely capable authority, the people of a certain locality will bear an antipathy towards him. Though it is possible for a debater to dispel the prejudice against the authority, it can be done only at the price of valuable time. In most cases it is better to rely upon those who need no explanation or apology.

4. **The authority should be definite.** When using authorities in debating, you should *make definite citations*: the name of the authority, the source of his statement, and any other desirable information. Thus it may not always be necessary to give the date when the statement was made, but if it makes a difference in the interpretation, then that becomes pertinent information. Never introduce quotations with the following phrases and clauses: "It has been said upon the best of authority . . ."; "A great historian has made the following statement . . ."; "A certain educator reported. . . ." The expressions "best of authority," "great historian," "certain educator," are too vague. Only by knowing the names of these gentlemen can we decide that they are capable, unprejudiced, and acceptable.

TESTS OF INDIRECT EVIDENCE

Naturally, the debater must scrutinize the indirect or circumstantial evidence as well as the direct or testimonial evidence. There is a commonly held belief that circumstantial evidence is not so valid as testimonial evidence, that "a chain of circumstantial evidence is as strong as its weakest link." The fallacy of the "chain" was revealed by Jeremy Bentham over a hundred years ago. It would be more true to say "a cable of circumstantial evidence is as strong as the combination of all of its strands." Proof is not a succession of links, each link dependent upon the other,

but a combination of strands, each one capable of carrying a certain load. It might, furthermore, be said in favor of circumstantial evidence that facts never lie but witnesses can. It is obvious that only certain facts are relevant to the inquiry, and that these must be tested for consistency.

1. **The indirect evidence should be consistent with probability.** There are times when evidence should be used with great caution, because there are strong reasons for believing that it is improbable. Evidence should be consistent with human experience. Evidence which conforms with human experience is most likely to be accepted. It is difficult enough to carry conviction with evidence which is entirely consistent with past experience without making it more difficult by using evidence in which there is little reason to believe. To illustrate: A student might try to convince his parents that the reason he flunked out of college was that he studied too much. Or a man might argue that a banker should lend him money because he expected to make a fortune by buying a speculative stock. It is possible that both of these arguments might be sound, but they are rather improbable and are not consistent with the general laws of human experience.

It is true that there are times when we are forced to use evidence which is inconsistent with human experience; as, for example, Columbus did when he appeared before the courts of Europe and tried to secure money for his proposed voyage around the world. He had to submit evidence that had not been verified by human experience, proving that the earth is round. The fact that he was mistaken in believing that he would reach India by sailing directly westward and the fact that for a long time he was unsuccessful in getting support suggest the difficulties in the use of such evidence.

Evidence may violate probability because it is inconsistent with the character of the person or persons involved. Certain enemies of George Washington contended, during his second term as president, that he wanted to become dictator or emperor. All evidence used to prove this seemed improbable, however, in view of Wash-

ington's character, especially as shown by the fact that he had taken office for the second term with great reluctance.

2. **The indirect evidence should be consistent with known facts.** Great harm can be done to evidence if it can be shown that it is inconsistent with facts even in an unimportant particular. It is the custom of cross-examiners in trials before a court to lead a witness to make an erroneous statement, even though it is not an important one; then the lawyer contends that since the witness has not been consistent with facts in the particular statement in question, therefore his word should not be accepted in other statements which cannot be verified.

Most detective stories depend upon the correction of evidence, both direct and indirect, by the discovery of new facts which show it to be improbable or impossible to believe. A man is found hanging with a rope around his neck and it is concluded that he has committed suicide. Later it is discovered, by close examination, that he had been hit over the head with a blunt instrument. It is thus shown to be improbable, if not impossible, that he brought about his own death.

There is a well-known story of how Abraham Lincoln, as counsel for the defendant in a murder trial, asked a witness how he could be sure that he had seen the prisoner strike the victim, when the crime had been committed at night. The witness replied that he was able to see because the moon was shining brightly. Lincoln then took an almanac and proved that the moon could not have been shining on that particular night.

EVIDENCE FOR QUESTIONS OF POLICY

Though the division of evidence into direct and indirect is not absolute, because the two overlap, this division has been found to be of practical use both in law and in debate, especially on questions of fact. The overlapping is not too troublesome, and, more important, we can usually be sure that both kinds of evidence for the case actually exist. In every question of fact, witnesses can

give testimony to establish certain points. Emerson has vividly expressed the truth that indirect, or circumstantial, evidence in a question of fact also always exists:

The beautiful laws and substances of the world persecute and whip the traitor. He finds that things are arranged for truth and benefit, but there is no den in the world to hide a rogue. Commit a crime, and the world is made of glass. Commit a crime, and it seems as if a coat of snow fell on the ground, such as reveals in the woods the track of every partridge and fox and squirrel and mole. You cannot now recall the spoken word, you cannot wipe out the foot track, you cannot draw up the ladder, so as to leave no inlet or clew. Some damning circumstance always transpires. The laws and substances of nature — water, snow, wind, gravitation — become penalties to the thief.

It is more difficult, however, to discover, to identify, and to analyze evidence for questions of policy upon the basis of the direct-indirect division. Consider the following questions: *Resolved*, That New Jersey should enact a sales tax; *Resolved*, That the United States should work for a League of Nations; *Resolved*, That the government should own and operate the railroads. Direct evidence, consisting of facts from statisticians, observations by experts, and opinions from authorities, will abound for such propositions. But it is difficult to apply the classification of indirect evidence to very much of the materials available. We shall, therefore, discuss in a broad way, without a twofold division, various *kinds of materials* used as evidence in questions of policy. The four kinds of materials are opinions; examples; statistics; and accepted beliefs, principles, and motives.

1. **Opinion.** All that has previously been said about opinions or reports of authorities in the preceding section is pertinent here. Testimony from witnesses and quotations from authority are used in questions of policy in exactly the same manner as they are in questions of fact. The same tests of validity apply.

2. **Example.** The most common type of evidence is the example. Can the United States be economically self-sufficient? The nega-

tive shows that the United States does not have sufficient quantities of certain specific substances — *for example*: manganese, chromite, rubber, sisal, nickel, and silk — to be self-sufficient. Or again: since export trade constitutes only 10% of our national income, will its loss result in the dislocation of American industry? One side proves that dislocation will occur because the 10% is not borne equally by all industries. Cotton growers, *for example*, annually ship abroad about 50% of the total cotton raised; thus loss of this market would reduce that industry to chaos. Other examples could be adduced: tobacco, wheat, corn, etc. If you want to show that railroad rates are not fair in this country, you can do it only by example — an example that it costs the Massachusetts manufacturer less to ship goods to Atlanta than it does a Georgia manufacturer to send goods to Boston. Debaters too often make assertions unsupported by examples. A concrete example, which may or may not be developed in detail, is conducive to acceptance by the audience and is difficult to refute. Opinions quoted from authorities can be combated by opinions from the other side of the fence, but an example cannot be so readily disposed of.

3. **Statistics.** The word *statistics* is derived from the Latin word *status*, meaning “condition.” Statistics, thus, are data collected on the condition of things and of persons. Interestingly enough, the Latin word *status* is also the source of our word “state,” meaning nation. We can reasonably conclude that originally the word *statistics* referred to the collection of data on the condition of the nation. One of the first such statistical surveys of a nation was the Domesday Book made for William the Conqueror in 1086, a book recording the extent, ownership, and value of all the lands of England. The United States prints at tremendous expense a sort of “Domesday Book” every decade, which we call the Census. Our best statistical sources, such as the *Census*, the *Statistical Abstract*, the *World Almanac*, and the yearbooks, provide us with a body of factual evidence which is more “scientific” than any other kinds of evidence used in human affairs. Indeed, statistics are the counterpart in social science of experiments in the physical sci-

ences. Thus it behooves a debater, who is a "social scientist," to handle statistics with the same concentrated care that the physical scientist bestows on his scales and retorts.

We are in this age just learning how to handle statistics, for their widespread use is new to the world. Hasty, impulsive generalization from statistics is dangerous. It leads to the inexcusable error committed recently by one of America's most influential columnists. The results of a freshman poll conducted at one of the universities in 1939, and printed in the daily university paper, showed that the freshmen gave more votes to Hitler as the "greatest living person" than to any other person. Ninety-three voted for Hitler; 27 voted for Einstein, who was second; 15 for Chamberlain, who was third; and many others voted for different people.

Because Hitler clearly led in the poll, the columnist said that the "majority" of the freshman class at this university thought Hitler to be the world's greatest man. The columnist took no notice of the fact that over 600 freshmen had voted! Hitler, in point of truth, had no majority; he polled less than one-sixth of the total vote, or about 15%. Finally, we might ask, what was meant by "greatest"? Did it mean, as the columnist seemed to assume, most admirable? Or did it mean most powerful? Small wonder that we still repeat Mark Twain's worn aphorism: "There are lies, damn lies, and statistics."

As debaters, we are less interested at the moment in compiling original statistics than we are in maintaining a critical attitude toward the statistics compiled by others and made available for our use. Three tests should be kept in mind when examining statistics:

(a) Can you define accurately the unit used in the statistics? What is meant by the statement: "There are three million students in the United States"? Is the unit measured — student — a high school student, a law student, an adult taking an evening course? Precisely what is the sense of the statement: "There are eleven million unemployed in the United States"? Is a man unemployed if he works one week a year? What is a battleship, a football injury, a church member, a sand-lot ball player?

(b) Are the units compared actually comparable? One of the commonest errors of the day is that of showing, by a comparison of the public debt of the United States with the public debt of England, that the American per capita debt is much lower. This comparison is based upon units which are not comparable. The American unit is the debt of the federal government alone, the public debts of the 48 states being ignored. The English unit is also that of the central government. But since the English government discharges, in addition to her regular duties, the services rendered in this country by the states, her central government's debt is naturally much higher. In 1913, laboring wages in northern industrial plants averaged about \$1.50 a day; in 1939, the average was over \$4.00 a day. When was it better to have been a laborer? What, in short, do you wish to compare?

(c) Are the statistics prepared by an impartial observer? It is not without reason that the saying, "Figures don't lie, but liars do figure," has passed into general use. Many of the statistics presented in partisan magazines and newspapers have been prepared by men who have first selected a conclusion, and have then sought to find figures that would substantiate it. Be wary of statistics which do not bear the name of the compiler. Statistics gathered by the governmental agencies, by the *World Almanac*, and by the yearbooks can be trusted.

These three tests are the most important ones. You will, however, readily think of other criteria of criticism: (1) Are the units as numerous as possible? (2) Are the units typical of the entire group? (3) Are exceptions to the conclusions noted?

Almost indispensable to the debater, statistics are a form of scientific evidence increasingly favored as a basis for conclusions on questions of policy in business, medicine, agriculture, and government.

4. **Accepted beliefs, principles, and motives.** Many conclusions use as their basis evidence founded in the deep-seated desires and in the cherished beliefs of people. We cannot, of course, divorce evidence from reason, because proof is made up of the interaction

of both. Just as examples, or statistics, or opinions form a foundation for reasoning, so do beliefs, principles, and motives. One who commits a crime should be punished — that belief is used as evidence from which to conclude that this particular criminal, John Dillinger, should be punished. A free press is preferable to a controlled one — with that principle used as evidence, we can show that any newspaper in this country controlled by a foreign government should be eliminated. Men and women desire success in life — from this hope in the hearts of human beings, we might conclude that students should avail themselves of school opportunities to prepare themselves for life. The American urge for fair play leads us to clamor for aid to the underdog in instances of political and military aggression. Our rooted beliefs in the principles of democracy and the freedom of the individual prevent us from dallying with the notion of supporting a dictator for this country.

A catalogue of our effective beliefs, principles, and motives would run into the hundreds. They are the stuff that reasoning and conclusions are made of. Of all the kinds of materials used as evidence in questions of policy, this last kind has the most persuasive appeal.

This examination of the kinds of evidence, of the tests of evidence, and of the applications of evidence to questions of fact and of policy, forms only one part of the study of proof. In the next chapter we shall discuss reasoning, the other part of proof. But we must constantly bear in mind the close, the almost inseparable, connection between the two. Careful choice of evidence and soundness in reasoning are vital to debate, as, in truth, they are vital to all rational life.

SUMMARY

- I. Proof is the sufficient reason for assenting to a proposition as true.
 - A. It consists of evidence and reasoning from evidence.
- II. Evidence for questions of fact may be direct or indirect.

- A. Direct evidence comes from those who testify from observation or experience.
- B. Indirect evidence consists of established facts from which inferences may be drawn.
- III. Direct evidence may be tested in several ways.
 - A. The witness or authority must be capable.
 - B. The authority should not be prejudiced.
 - 1. If the authority is prejudiced, whatever evidence he gives *against* his prejudice is especially strong.
 - C. The authority should carry weight with the audience.
 - D. The authority should be definite.
- IV. Indirect evidence may be tested in two ways.
 - A. It should be consistent with probability.
 - B. It should be consistent with all known facts.
- V. Evidence for questions of policy may be drawn from four fields.
 - A. It may be drawn from opinions.
 - 1. The tests of direct evidence, given above, apply here.
 - B. It may be drawn from examples or an example.
 - C. It may be drawn from statistics.
 - 1. Evidence from statistics may be tested in three ways.
 - a. The unit used in the statistics must be defined.
 - b. Units used in comparative statistics must be really comparable.
 - c. The statistics must be prepared by an impartial observer.
 - D. It may be drawn from accepted beliefs, principles, and motives.

EXERCISES

- 1. Bring to class a list of five authorities on each of two questions listed under Suggested Questions in chapter IV. Apply to these, in class, the tests of authorities.
- 2. Criticize the following authorities on the question: *Resolved*, That the United States government should own and operate the railroads.
 - a. The president of the American Federation of Labor.
 - b. A. L. Smith, a western farmer.

- c.* The president of the New York Stock Exchange.
 - d.* The president of the American Truck Association.
 - e.* Norman Thomas, the Socialist.
 - f.* The president of the freshman class in your college.
 - g.* The president of the American Chamber of Commerce.
 - h.* A well-known politician.
 - i.* The German Director of Railroads.
- 3. Bring to class a list of persons on the campus whom you have interviewed on the question of subsidized athletics. Criticize their statements, as evidence, in class.
 - 4. Give five illustrations of evidence contrary to human experience.
 - 5. Bring to class six statements made by campaign speakers about their opponents which were contrary to facts.
 - 6. Study Mark Antony's speech given after the death of Caesar and note how Antony criticizes the statements made by Brutus and the other conspirators.



CHAPTER VII

REASONING

MAN is the only animal which enjoys the distinction of being able to reason. By reasoning we mean the ability to analyze facts, see their relationship, and draw a conclusion. The human mind starts with a fact or facts and infers or concludes that something is true. The conclusion is, to a certain extent, a leap into the dark. It is going from the known to the related unknown. The conclusion cannot be an *absolute* certainty, for if it were then the process would not be reasoning. It should be understood, however, that if the reasoning process has observed the laws of such a mental process, then the conclusion may be practically certain. The courts find many people guilty, and deprive some of the right to live, through a process of reasoning from circumstantial evidence.

This ability of man to draw conclusions, to infer that something is true from the facts which he has in hand, has been largely responsible for man's supremacy. He is able to advance to truths yet unknown, while animals, without this ability, continue to do the same things from generation to generation.

KINDS OF REASONING

There are two kinds of reasoning — deductive and inductive.

Inductive reasoning is the process of inferring that what is true of certain members of a class is true of the class as a whole.

Deductive reasoning is inferring that what is true of a whole class is true of any typical member of that class.

I. Inductive Reasoning

Inductive reasoning is of three principal kinds: Generalization; Analogy; Causal Relationship.

A. Generalization

Generalization is the purest form of inductive reasoning. *It assumes that what is true of a number of members of a class is true of the whole class.* We know, for instance, that the universities of Princeton, Harvard, and Pennsylvania have debating teams; therefore we assume that all universities have debating teams. We have drawn a conclusion about the whole class as a result of our knowledge of three members of the class. We cannot know with certainty that our conclusion that all universities have debating teams is a fact unless we examine every university in the whole class. If we should examine all the individuals of the class it would not be reasoning but purely a matter of arithmetic. The question arises as to whether or not the conclusion is approximately true. If there were only a few exceptions to the general statement it would still be safe for us to assume that any university in the class would have a debating team. In generalization, the conclusion may come after the individual instances have been noted or the conclusion may come first with the reasons or proof in the way of examples. An illustration of the former follows: During an epidemic of diphtheria my friends John, Richard, Ethel, Robert, and Mary did not contract the disease. They had been vaccinated; therefore all who have been vaccinated against diphtheria will not contract the disease.

In the following illustrations, we have the conclusion coming first, followed by the individual examples as proof. Selfishness brings its own punishment. Macbeth, devoid of friends and followers, was killed by the friends of one whose power he had attempted to usurp. Shylock was stripped of possessions and influence; Cassius took his own life when his selfish dreams were not realized.

It can be seen, of course, that the generalizations drawn in the above illustrations are imperfect, since we cannot be sure that

vaccination will always prevent the contraction of diphtheria unless we examine each individual case which has been exposed to the disease. Nor can we be sure that selfishness is always punished unless we study every case of selfishness. This, of course, is impossible.

Since it is with the imperfect generalizations that we have to deal, it is well for us to guard against fallacies by applying certain tests.

TESTS OF GENERALIZATION

a. Have we examined a sufficient number of the members of the class? We must be careful that our examination has covered a sufficient number of members to warrant us in assuming that what is true of these members is true of the class to which these members belong. The number that we need to examine varies with different situations. The number of particular members that it is necessary for you to examine varies. If you want to make a generalization that all squares contain four right angles included within four lines of equal length, then it is not necessary for you to examine more than one, because the above requirements are absolutely necessary for all squares, by definition. When the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association, however, attempts to prove that alcohol is not a poison by citing three or four instances of alcohol drinkers who have lived to an old age, they are guilty of an error in their generalization; for had they examined thousands of other cases, they might have found an equal or greater number of drinkers whose lives were shortened. When we assume that every grown person is able to read and write, that all men are honest, that all cities have mayors, we are, in each case, making a generalization from an inspection of too small a number of individual instances.

b. Are the members we have examined typical of the class? We may examine a large number of members of the class and yet they may not be typical members of the class. We may know quite a number of politicians and because they are selfish and self-seeking we may assume that all politicians have only their own interest in mind. However, further investigation may prove that these indi-

vidual politicians were not typical of the class, but that most of the men in politics are interested in making their community and nation a better place in which to live. Don't assume that because your neighbor was quarrelsome on one occasion he is always quarrelsome. The one case may have happened because the baby kept him awake all the night before.

c. Be sure that there are not too many exceptions to the rule to prove the generalization. The scientific mind searches for exceptions before it draws a conclusion. Don't be guilty of the fallacy which comes as a result of assuming that since the thing is true of all the cases of which you know, therefore it must be true in all cases.

The number of exceptions to the rule necessary to disprove the generalization varies in different cases but depends largely upon the number in the class about which you are generalizing. If a farmer buys seed for sweet corn and asks for the Golden Bantam variety, he is not going to be materially hampered if there are occasional seeds of another variety. If, on the other hand, a track enthusiast states that all who come out for track work are benefited by the sport but it is discovered that one out of the twenty on the squad developed heart trouble and died, then his reasoning is thoroughly bad. The one exception is sufficient to endanger the generalization. *Be careful of the fallacy of hasty generalization.*

B. Analogy

Reasoning by analogy is assuming that what is true of one member of a class is true of another member of that same class. It is the comparing of similar objects and assuming that what is true of one is true of the others. We usually compare one member about which we know a great deal with another member about which we know nothing other than that it is a member of the same class, and then draw the conclusion that what is true of the known member will also be true of the unknown member.

We are familiar with our own college and we know that it has a hockey team. We know that Reed College is similar in that it has students of the same age. We presume that these students at

Reed College will have the same general interests as those of our own college; therefore we assume that since our college has a hockey team Reed College will also have a similar team.

It is true that we should be unlikely to draw this conclusion if we had not come in contact with more than our own college and found that what existed in one was true of the others.

Reasoning by analogy is a great saver of labor and time. It profits by past experience. The student who considers the medical profession for his life work reasons by analogy that since the successful doctors with whom he has come in contact have a medical education, he must obtain such an education also. He does not make the mistake of trying to be a doctor without first thoroughly preparing himself.

This method of reasoning is used a great deal in debates and discussion. In debating the question whether our government should own and control our railroads, the affirmative might use the following illustration:

The German state railways have largely contributed to the prosperity of the German industries, and the total number of injured in railroad accidents is in proportion of one for Germany to fourteen for the United States. Therefore it is logical to conclude that there would be similar gains in prosperity and a decrease in the number of lives lost if the United States government took over control of the railways.

The above illustrations of reasoning from analogy are based on a literal similarity existing between the individuals under consideration, because they belong to the same class. Germany and the United States both belong to the class, nations. However, analogy is often used in a figurative sense where the members do not belong to the same class, but where there seems to be a similarity of circumstances. A stock argument of politicians is that it is as dangerous to change presidents during a period of national stress as it is to swap horses in the middle of a stream. The statement that the game of football is like the game of life is a figurative use of reasoning by analogy. This use of analogy in a figurative

sense should be employed with caution, for it is often very easy to show that the two instances are not essentially parallel.

Although reasoning from analogy is one of the most common means of reasoning, yet it is one most liable to fallacy. We must always be cautious in drawing our conclusions and apply the test.

TEST OF ANALOGY

Be certain that the points of likeness outweigh the points of difference. This is not to be understood to be a matter of number but of importance. The similarity between two situations that are compared may hold only in more or less unessential details, which may be numerous, and be outweighed by dissimilarities which are important and perhaps few in number.

Two students may go to the same college and have the same courses and instructors. Innumerable experiences and opportunities are alike and yet it is not safe to assume that because one is successful the other one will be equally so. One important difference between the two may be sufficient to outweigh all the similarities; that is, one may have far more intelligence than the other, or one may have the ability to apply himself to his task more definitely than the other.

Government ownership of railroads may work out satisfactorily in Germany but not in the United States for the reason that the difference in the form of government is the important factor.

C. Causal Relation

There is a universal law in nature that every cause will produce an effect and that every effect must be the result of some cause. The same cause will produce the same effect each time unless something enters in to influence the natural sequence.

The question may arise as to the reason for classifying this type of reasoning under the head of inductive reasoning. The answer is that we are unlikely to assume that the cause in this particular instance will produce a certain effect unless we have seen numerous other instances where the same thing has happened. Drunken driving usually results in accidents; hence we have a right to

assume that it will in this particular instance. Locomotor ataxia is usually caused by a venereal disease; therefore we assume that it is true in this case.

There are three types of causal relation — cause to effect, effect to cause, effect to effect.

1. *Reasoning from cause to effect.* In reasoning from cause to effect we have given the cause and we assume that a certain effect will take place as result of this cause. It is the rule that a certain fact, event, or phenomenon will produce, under given circumstances, another fact, event, or phenomenon. The same effect will invariably occur unless there are some extenuating circumstances. Continued inattention to studies is likely to result in failure. Isolation laws are passed and we assume the effect will be that the country will remain out of foreign wars. We argue that the federal government should take over the railroads because the effect would be a more uniform efficient system. Or it could be argued that the federal government should not take over the railroads because the government is always less efficient than private owners. Reciprocal trade agreements should be freely entered into for then the United States will enjoy increased prosperity.

In this type of reasoning we call attention to a known fact or situation and draw a conclusion that a certain effect will be the result. We go from the known to the related unknown. The cause we know, the effect we cannot be sure of. We can, however, be fairly sure that our conclusion is a safe one if we apply certain tests.

TESTS OF CAUSE TO EFFECT

a. Is the cause adequate to produce the assumed effect? We should always question carefully the importance or adequacy of the cause and be reasonably certain that the cause is sufficient in itself to produce the alleged effect. Was the short sickness sufficient cause in itself to produce failure, or was it only a contributing factor? Was the high price of our cotton the main factor in our lowered volume of exported goods?

b. Are you sure that the cause is not prevented from producing the effect? Quite often something will enter in to prevent the cause from producing the usual effect. Rising prices may fail to produce a profit to industry because of high taxes. It is generally believed that the first World War did not result in a lasting peace because of an unfair treaty. Exposure to smallpox may not produce the disease because the patient has been vaccinated.

2. *Reasoning from effect to cause.* The argument from effect to cause reasons from a known effect to the possible or probable causes. In this type of reasoning we attempt to explain the forces responsible for the known circumstances. We find a nation prosperous and we assume that its prosperity is due to its sound economic laws. We find a nation at war and we assume that it has had to fight against a war of aggression. The farmers suffer greatly through a period of years and we give as the reason that their export trade has been cut off.

It is always important that we arrive at the correct cause, for then we may be able to avoid bad effects or insure the recurrence of favorable circumstances. It is a common error to assign the cause for the known condition without carefully analyzing the situation. We shall be much safer if we apply certain tests to this kind of reasoning.

TESTS TO BE APPLIED TO REASONING FROM EFFECT TO CAUSE

a. We must be sure that the assumed cause is the real cause for the known effect. There may be two or more causes which produce the same effect. We cannot be reasonably sure that we have found the true cause till we have taken into consideration the possibility of other causes. It is a matter of great importance when a country finds itself in a depression economically to determine which of the many alleged causes is the most important or true one. It is possible that there may be many forces working which produce the undesirable situation, but it is important that we should not waste our time with causes which are unimportant. If a student fails it

is for him to determine whether or not his fundamental courses have been weak or whether it is lack of application.

b. Is the assumed cause adequate to produce the known effect? It will be noticed that this test is the same as one that was applied to reasoning from cause to effect. We must be careful to ascertain as to whether or not the reason alleged for the given circumstance is sufficient in importance. Was the illness of a few days sufficient reason for the student's failure?

3. *Reasoning from effect to effect.* Reasoning from effect to effect occurs when we infer that since one effect of a common cause is known that the other effect prevails. Many causes have two effects and it is customary in reasoning to jump to the conclusion, without consciously going back to the common cause, that since we know one effect of the common cause we shall also find the other one. This reasoning is a combination of reasoning from effect to cause and from cause to effect. The new President has been elected; therefore the protective tariff will be increased. The known effect, election of a new President, is the result of the coming into power of a different political party (common cause); then we infer that this party, which favors protection, will put through measures for increasing the tariff (second effect). Or take this: There are a great many dust storms in the Mississippi River basin; therefore the river must not be navigable at this time. The common cause of course is lack of rain.

The best way to be sure that this method of reasoning is sound is to resolve each one into its two constituent parts. First reason from the known effect back to the common, understood cause. Be satisfied that the President was elected by the old-line party rather than by an independent vote. After you have established the soundness of your reasoning from effect to cause then observe carefully the second step where you use this common cause as a reason for inferring that your second effect is likely to follow. Will the return to power of the old-line party result in the second effect — an increase in the tariff? Will the party be strong enough in Congress to bring it about?

TESTS OF REASONING FROM EFFECT TO EFFECT

The tests to be applied to this method of reasoning are the same as applied to the other two kinds of causal relationship.

- a. *Is the cause adequate to produce the effect?*
- b. *Is there some other cause than the assumed one?*
- c. *Is it possible that something will enter in to prevent the cause from producing the assumed effect?*

II. Deductive Reasoning

We have dealt with inductive reasoning where we have established the truth of a class after the examination of its individual members. *Deductive reasoning is the assumption that what is true of the class as a whole is true of any typical member of that class.* We must have our generalization built up by inductive reasoning as a basis for reasoning deductively.

Deductive reasoning is made up of three distinct steps. These are called a syllogism. Each step is a complete statement. The names given to these are (1) a major premise, (2) a minor premise, and (3) a conclusion. An example follows:

- (1) All colleges have debating teams. [major premise]
- (2) St. Lawrence is a college. [minor premise]
- (3) St. Lawrence has a debating team. [conclusion]

It can be seen that the major premise is arrived at inductively, for we would not make a general statement that all colleges have debating teams unless we had personal knowledge that a number of colleges had such organizations. After being fairly certain that our major premise is reasonably true then we feel safe in taking the short cut and assuming that what is true of colleges in general is true of the particular college we have in mind. Again, in less formal style, we might say:

All who go to college have a broader view of life [major premise];
if I go to college [minor premise], I will have a broader view of
life [conclusion].

There are many instances where an immense amount of time is saved in drawing a conclusion about an unknown member when we are cognizant only of the class as a whole.

We rarely, if ever, use deductive reasoning in its full syllogistic form. We do not find the three steps following along logically. Rather we find the syllogism in its abbreviated form with one of the steps left out. We call such a form an enthymeme. Thus we say: No major power can hold its place of influence unless it is well armed; therefore the United States must be well armed if it is to maintain its influence. The minor premise is left out; i.e., the United States is a major power. We may also find the major premise omitted. He is a dictator; therefore he has supreme power. The major premise is understood but not expressed — that all dictators have supreme power.

TESTS OF DEDUCTIVE REASONING

a. We must be certain that the major premise is reasonably true. We have no reason to proceed logically with a faulty major premise such as: All college men are successful. There are too many exceptions to the statement.

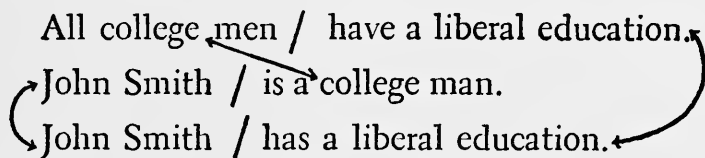
b. The individual selected in the minor premise about which we are going to draw a conclusion must be a typical and true member of the class mentioned in the major premise. In the illustration: All farmers have plenty to eat. Smith is a farmer, we must ascertain first whether or not Smith belongs to the class of farmers before we can draw the conclusion that Smith has plenty to eat. Perhaps he lives in a house in the country, but depends wholly on odd jobs he does in town.

c. The conclusion must follow logically. After having definitely established that the individual mentioned in the minor premise is a member of the class set forth in the major premise then we must assert only of the individual that which was asserted about the class. Take this example: All democracies are unwieldy in time of war. England is a democracy. England is unwieldy in time of peace. Here the conclusion doesn't follow logically for we have established no reason for such a statement. In other words the

assertion about England is not the assertion which was made about the democracies of which England is a member.

A more subtle and more common fallacy of deductive reasoning is illustrated in this: All democracies are unwieldy in time of war. India is unwieldy in time of war. Therefore India is a democracy. In a simpler form this fallacy (technically known as the “undistributed middle”) may be seen in the following: All men are mortal. Dobbin is mortal. Therefore Dobbin is a man. The fact is that Dobbin is a horse; both the major and minor premises are true, but they lead to a false conclusion simply because logic has not been observed.

It is rather easy to demonstrate the proof that the test C has been fulfilled if we analyze a syllogism in the following way: Each of the three steps in the syllogism is made up of two parts, the subject and the predicate. The subject of the major premise is the class we have in mind. The predicate is the assertion about the class mentioned. The minor premise has as its subject the individual member in which we are interested. The predicate of the minor premise always agrees with the subject of the major premise in that it asserts that it is a member of the class mentioned in the major premise. In the conclusion we have as its subject the same individual mentioned in the minor premise and as the predicate we have the same assertion or predicate which occurs in the major premise. A departure from any of the above requirements immediately invalidates the conclusion. This can better be illustrated in the following way:



In an enthymeme we must always have in mind the omitted step and apply the test to it as though it were present if we are to be sure that our conclusion is reasonably true.

HUXLEY ON REASONING

Thomas Henry Huxley, a great English biologist and teacher of the nineteenth century, wrote the following explanation of how

scientists use the same general methods of reasoning as all people use in their daily life:

The method of scientific investigation is nothing but the expression of the necessary mode of working of the human mind. It is simply the mode at which all phenomena are reasoned about, rendered precise and exact. There is no more difference, but there is just the same kind of difference, between the mental operations of a man of science and those of an ordinary person, as there is between the operations and methods of a baker or butcher weighing out his goods in common scales, and the operations of a chemist in performing a difficult and complex analysis by means of his balance and finely graduated weights. It is not that the action of the scales in the one case, and the balance in the other, differ in the principles of their construction or manner of working; but the beam of one is set on an infinitely finer axis than the other, and of course turns by the addition of a much smaller weight. . . .

There is a well-known incident in one of Molière's plays, where the author makes the hero express unbounded delight on being told that he had been talking prose during the whole of his life. In the same way, I trust that you will take comfort and be delighted with yourselves, on the discovery that you have been acting on the principles of inductive and deductive philosophy during the same period. . . .

A very trivial circumstance will serve to exemplify this. Suppose you go into a fruiterer's shop, wanting an apple, — you take up one, and, on biting it, you find it is sour; you look at it, and see that it is hard and green. You take up another one, and that too is hard, green, and sour. The shopman offers you a third; but, before biting it, you examine it, and find that it is hard and green, and you immediately say that you will not have it, as it must be sour, like those that you have already tried.

Nothing can be more simple than that, you think; but if you will take the trouble to analyze and trace out into its logical elements what has been done by the mind, you will be greatly surprised. In the first place, you have performed the operation of induction. You found that, in two experiences, hardness and greenness in apples went together with sourness. It was so in the first case, and it was confirmed by the second. True, it is a very small basis, but still it was enough to make an induction from; you generalize the facts, and you expect to find sourness in apples where you get hard-

ness and greenness. You found upon that a general law, that all hard and green apples are sour; . . . Well, having got your natural law in this way, when you are offered another apple which you find is hard and green, you say, "All hard and green apples are sour; this apple is hard and green; therefore this apple is sour." That train of reasoning is what logicians call a syllogism, and has all its various parts and terms — its major premise, its minor premise, and its conclusion. And, by the help of further reasoning, which, if drawn out, would have to be exhibited in two or three other syllogisms, you arrive at your final determination, "I will not have that apple." So that, you see, you have, in the first place, established a law by induction, and upon that you have founded a deduction, and reasoned out the special conclusion of this particular case. Well now, suppose, having got your law, that at some time afterwards you are discussing the qualities of apples with a friend: you will say to him, "It is a very curious thing, — but I find that all hard and green apples are sour." Your friend says to you, "But how do you know that?" You at once reply, "Oh, because I have tried them over and over again, and have always found them to be so." Well, if we were talking science instead of common sense, we should call that an experimental verification. And, if still opposed, you go further, and say, "I have heard from the people in Somersetshire and Devonshire, where a large number of apples are grown, that they have observed the same thing. It is also found to be the case in Normandy, and in North America. In short, I find it to be the universal experience of mankind wherever attention has been directed to the subject." Whereupon, your friend, unless he is a very unreasonable man, agrees with you, and is convinced that you are quite right in the conclusion you have drawn. He believes, although perhaps he does not know he believes it, that the more extensive verifications are — that the more frequently experiments have been made, and results of the same kind arrived at — that the more varied the conditions under which the same results are attained, the more certain is the ultimate conclusion, and he disputes the question no further. He sees that the experiment has been tried under all sorts of conditions, as to time, place, and people, with the same result; and he says with you, therefore, that the law you have laid down must be a good one, and he must believe it.

In science we do the same thing: the philosopher exercises precisely the same faculties, though in a much more delicate manner.

In scientific inquiry it becomes a matter of duty to expose a supposed law to every possible kind of verification, and to take care, moreover, that this is done intentionally, and not left to a mere accident, as in the case of the apples. And in science, as in common life, our confidence in a law is in exact proportion to the absence of variation in the result of our experimental verifications. . . .

So much, then, by way of proof that the method of establishing laws in science is exactly the same as that pursued in common life. Let us now turn to another matter (though really it is but another phase of the same question), and that is, the method by which, from the relations of certain phenomena, we prove that some stand in the position of causes towards the others.

I want to put the case clearly before you, and I will therefore show you what I mean by another familiar example. I will suppose that one of you, on coming down in the morning to the parlor of your house, finds that the teapot and some spoons which had been left in the room on the previous evening are gone; the window is open, and you observe the mark of a dirty hand on the window frame, and perhaps, in addition to that, you notice the impress of a hobnailed shoe on the gravel outside. All these phenomena struck your attention instantly, and before two seconds have passed you say, "Oh, somebody has broken open the window, entered the room, and run off with the spoons and teapot!" That speech is out of your mouth in a moment. And you will probably add, "I know that he has; I am quite sure of it!" You mean to say exactly what you know; but in reality you are giving expression to what is, in all essential particulars, an hypothesis. You do not *know* it at all; it is nothing but an hypothesis rapidly framed in your own mind. And it is an hypothesis founded on a long train of inductions and deductions.

What are those inductions and deductions, and how have you got at this hypothesis? You have observed, in the first place, that the window is open; but by a train of reasonings involving many inductions and deductions, you have probably arrived long before at the general law — and a very good one it is — that windows do not open of themselves; and you therefore conclude that something has opened the window. A second general law that you have arrived at in the same way is that teapots and spoons do not go out of a window spontaneously, and you are satisfied that, as they are not now where you left them, they have been removed. In the

third place, you look at the marks on the window-sill and the shoe-marks outside, and you say that in all previous experience the former kind of mark has never been produced by anything else but the hand of a human being; and the same experience shows that no other animal but man at present wears shoes with hobnails in them such as would produce the marks in the gravel. I do not know, even if we could discover any of the “missing links” that are talked about, that they would help us to any other conclusion! At any rate the law which states our present experience is strong enough for my present purpose. You next reach the conclusion that, as these kinds of marks have not been left by any other animal than man, or are liable to be formed in no other way than by a man’s hand and shoe, the marks in question have been formed by a man in that way. You have, further, a general law, founded on observation and experience, and that, too, I am sorry to say, a very universal and unimpeachable one, that some men are thieves; and you assume at once from all these premises — and that is what constitutes your hypothesis — that the man who made the marks outside and on your window-sill opened the window, got into the room, and stole your teapot and spoons. You have now arrived at a *vera causa* — you have assumed a cause which, it is plain, is competent to produce all the phenomena you have observed. You can explain all these phenomena only by the hypothesis of a thief. But that is a hypothetical conclusion, of the justice of which you have no absolute proof at all; it is only rendered highly probable by a series of inductive and deductive reasonings.

SUMMARY

Reasoning is of two kinds: inductive and deductive.

I. Inductive reasoning is of three types:

A. Generalization

1. Tests of generalization

a. Have we examined a sufficient number?

b. Are the members we have examined typical of the class?

c. Be sure that there are not too many exceptions to the rule.

B. Analogy

1. Test of analogy

- a. Be certain that the points of likeness outweigh the points of difference in importance.
- C. Causal relation is of three kinds: (1) cause to effect, (2) effect to cause, (3) effect to effect.
 - 1. Tests of causal relation
 - a. Is the assumed cause adequate to produce the effect?
 - b. May the cause be prevented from producing the effect?
 - c. Is there another cause that might produce the effect?

II. Deductive reasoning

- A. Tests of deductive reasoning
 - 1. Is the major premise reasonably true?
 - 2. Is the minor premise true to the class?
 - 3. Does the conclusion logically follow?
- B. An enthymeme is an abbreviated syllogism.

EXERCISES

- A. Classify the kinds of reasoning and apply the tests of validity in the following:
 - 1. The snow will turn to rain because it is getting warmer.
 - 2. Every American has a keen sense of humor.
He is not an American.
Therefore he does not have a keen sense of humor.
 - 3. The streets are wet; therefore the water in the lake will be muddy.
 - 4. Mr. A is rich; therefore he must have been very industrious.
 - 5. He is an American; therefore he must be very courteous.
 - 6. During Coolidge's second administration the country was highly prosperous. Coolidge should have been re-elected.
 - 7. He is the best-dressed man in the world, because he is the best-dressed man in the United States, and the men in the United States are the best dressed in the world.
 - 8. Doctors have contributed most to the happiness of the world. Madame Curie did much for the cure of cancer and Pasteur discovered the cure for hydrophobia.
 - 9. Have you enjoyed O'Neill's *Desire Under the Elms*, *Emperor Jones*, and *Strange Interlude*? Then you must see *Ah, Wilderness*!

10. "Bring forth men children only, for thy undaunted mettle should compose nothing but males." (Macbeth)
11. The apple trees are in blossom; therefore it must be a good time to go fishing.
12. This lake is deep.
Fish live in deep lakes.
Therefore there are fish in this lake.
13. War is destructive to a democratic form of government. Even England and France, ordinarily democratic countries, were in reality ruled by a dictatorial form of government. The United States may well assume that her people will lose their freedom of action if we enter a war.
14. The barometer is very low this morning; therefore the picnic will be called off.

B. Write out original illustrations of the following types of reasoning:

1. Generalization
2. Analogy
3. Cause to effect
4. Effect to cause
5. Effect to effect
6. Deductive reasoning

C. The following advertisements are taken from magazines. What kind of argument is each? Is it effective?

1. It is that feeling which comes over you in attempting to find space for a trunk, several suitcases, and your wardrobe in something just large enough for an overnight kit. Which is our way of emphasizing that the closet space in — apartments is simply *enormous*.
2. You'll get the thrill of your life when first you fly the —. So simple that you'll be handling the controls your first time up . . . so comfortable you'll want to fly just to relax . . . and so swift you'll be planning week-ends hundreds of miles away. There's a — dealer near you. Phone him for a demonstration.
3. Verve is the word that explains the preference of the debutantes and college girls for — — soft drape — —.
4. Furs go to finishing school and emerge as perfect ladies. Furs of humble origin climb the social ladder, thanks to the

blenders and dyers, and mingle with their betters. Fitch, muskrat, and skunk come up looking like sable, and white fox parades as lynx and platina — you see them lunching everywhere, lunching and dining in the smartest places in town. Read about this new aristocracy of furs-at-democratic price in the August —.

5. Have you tried a — lately? Try them for a week. Then you'll know why sworn records show that among independent tobacco experts, warehouse men, auctioneers, and buyers, — have twice as many exclusive smokers as have all other cigarettes combined. With men who know tobacco best — it's — two to one.
6. "It is the common fate of the indolent to see their rights become a prey to the active. The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance; which condition if he break, servitude is at once the consequence of his crime and the punishment of his guilt." (John Curran)



CHAPTER VIII

REFUTATION

STUDENTS of American history and of public address generally agree that one of the most brilliant speeches ever delivered in the Senate of the United States is Daniel Webster's "Second Reply to Hayne." This speech is sometimes called an "oration," but regardless of what name is applied to it, we must remember that it was called forth in a debating situation. That is, Webster rose in the Senate on January 26, 1830, not only to combat the idea ably presented by General Hayne the day before that the states themselves had the right to nullify acts of Congress, but also to define and amplify a conception of the Constitution of the United States which all school children have been taught since that time. Webster, in the second part of his speech, played schoolmaster to a whole people: he taught that the United States is a nation, its people the masters of an empire, its union indivisible; he gave life, form, and character to the vague stirrings that every man felt when he contemplated his country. In this part of his speech, Webster was constructive; he was creating and developing an idea of vast importance.

Before he was able to build up his own ideas, however, Webster was compelled to destroy the notion upheld by Hayne that every state was a law unto itself. Webster destroyed Hayne's proof that nullification was a constitutional right; he disputed Hayne's reasoning; and he showed the disastrous implications of Hayne's position, for nullification, far from being a peaceful right, would

inevitably turn into bloody revolution. This part of Webster's speech was *destructive*; it was designed to demonstrate the falsity of Hayne's arguments, and to show the evil consequences that might follow from their acceptance.

Webster's "Second Reply to Hayne" is an example of an inspired debate speech. It combines the two essentials of debating technique: construction and destruction. Applied to formal debating, the word *construction* is retained when we speak of the main argument as being *constructive*; but for the word *destruction* we substitute the word *refutation*. We should think of these two things, not as being separate, but as being dependent upon one another.

WHEN TO REFUTE

Refutation, as we have seen, is the destroying of doubts about the validity of our position. The word *refutation* is not precisely synonymous with the word *rebuttal*. Rebuttal should be thought of as a *rejoinder*; that is, as a further opportunity to upset your opponent and to restate and to clarify your position in the debate. Though the rebuttal speech may contain proportionately more refutation than the main speech, it is in no way essentially different from it. In short, both speeches interweave construction and destruction.

Since both your constructive and refutative arguments proceed side by side, it follows that there is no *specified* place for refutation. Whenever an obstacle to belief arises in the path of your argument, you must first remove it before moving forward. An obstacle formulated by the opposition is a **logical obstruction**; an obstacle to belief in the minds of the audience is a **psychological obstruction**. **Refutation can remove either.**

Refutation is demanded psychologically whenever it is necessary to allay the doubts of the audience. One such time is at the very beginning of your constructive speech, provided you are not the first affirmative speaker. If your opponent, who has just left the platform, has done a good job, he has created an impression on the

audience which will prevent them from giving you an entirely favorable hearing. You must turn that impression, favorable to your opponent, into a neutral or unfavorable one before you embark on your own case. The minds of the audience constitute a huge blackboard which your opponent has filled with writing. Before you can take your turn with the chalk, you must first erase the blackboard. It is good practice, then, to reserve two or three minutes at the beginning of your main speech to restate and to destroy the most effective argument used by your opponent.

Refutation is used psychologically whenever you advocate a specific course of action which appears to run counter to a cherished belief. If you are upholding the honor system in Old Line College, at some time in your speech you must meet the belief that anyone who reports an infraction of the code is a tattle-tale or stool-pigeon. If you ignored that belief, your audience would feel mentally uncomfortable throughout your entire speech. One argument to allay their distress and to give you favorable support is to claim that one's chief duty is to himself and his conscience; and, since one has taken a pledge to report infractions, he is actually being dishonest if he then refuses. Furthermore, the entire school suffers; for, if there are wholesale infractions, the honor system is a failure. Consequently the blot of dishonesty falls on everyone; people say, "The students of Old Line cannot be trusted. It is no place for our sons."

Since debating is primarily an intellectual combat, however, refutation is more often demanded logically than psychologically. Whenever you are developing an argument which takes for its use the same premise as that of your opposition, you must by the logic of the situation first destroy his contention. You cannot build a house on a foundation already used by your opponent; you must first dislodge the structure he has erected. A debater opposed to the Ludlow referendum, which makes specific consent of the people necessary before our government declares a foreign war, claimed that our present system was democratic. Mr. Ludlow himself argued that the referendum achieved the democratic ideal

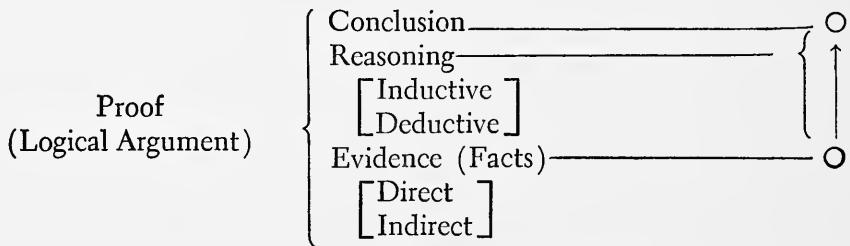
more completely than our present representative system. It is obvious that Mr. Ludlow's argument logically demanded for its acceptance a previous destruction of his opponent's contention.

Refutation is also logically demanded in the rebuttal speech. When the constructive speeches are finished, both your opponents and your audience are looking at you and saying, "Well, there it is. What are you going to do about it?" Refute, destroy.

PROCEDURE IN REFUTATION

There are three steps to be taken in successful refutation. The first of these is analysis of your opponents' argument; the second is criticism of that argument; and the third is the presentation of your conclusions on this argument to the audience.

A. Analysis. While your opponent is speaking, you should constantly be asking yourself the questions: "What is the precise point that he is making?" "Why does he claim the point to be valid?" There are three parts to any logical argument, and only three parts; facts, reasoning, and conclusion. The conclusion rests upon reasoning; the reasoning rests upon facts — or alleged facts. Diagrammatically, it can be expressed this way:



The problem of analysis is to disentangle from a mass of words the conclusion which your opponent hopes to have established, then the evidence or facts upon which the conclusion is based, and finally, the reasoning by which the gap from the facts to the conclusion has been bridged. Rigid and severe analysis is the first requisite for a good debater. Every great thinker is first of all a great analyst. Bring the argument into the clinic: diagnose, examine, chart, analyze.

Analysis includes not only a discovery of the facts, reasoning, and conclusion of a specific argument, but also a bird's-eye view of all the arguments taken together. In concise form, what is the entire case of the opposition? Analysis strips down into a few points all the opposition has said: it puts into an overnight case what they have used to fill a trunk. And analysis tears arguments apart to see what makes them tick.

B. Criticism. It is easy to determine the conclusion of an opponent's argument; it is far more difficult to determine by what exact facts and by what precise reasoning he claims his argument to be valid. A good conclusion is like the dome of a building held up by strong supports on a firm foundation. How would an engineer decide whether a building could suitably carry a ten-ton or a thirty-ton dome? Naturally, by examining with scientific accuracy the foundation, the supports, and the dome itself. Now a debater cannot hope to achieve scientific accuracy, but he can take a long step on the way, by employing the *method* of the scientist. He must throw the beam of criticism upon the facts, the reasoning, and the conclusions. He asks three questions: "Are the facts true and relevant?" "Is the reasoning sound and relevant?" "Do the conclusions properly establish the proposition?" In short, criticism means judging; it means measuring on mental scales the weight of your opponent's case.

1. In criticising the facts, you will *apply the tests for both direct and indirect evidence* given in chapter VI. Debaters when using direct evidence usually do not rely upon their own experiences, but upon those taken from authority. Thus it is necessary to be so familiar with the tests of authority that you can use them as naturally and as rapidly as the multiplication table. Statistics are the most common form of indirect evidence. They deserve healthy inquiry, not superstitious acceptance.

2. After subjecting the facts to a thorough criticism, you will then *turn to the reasoning* which is the indispensable link between the facts and the conclusion. *Is the reasoning sound and relevant?* As we know from the chapter on reasoning, the debater uses the

universal methods of thinking or reasoning — the inductive and the deductive. In criticising an opponent's reasoning it is therefore first necessary to decide what kind of reasoning it is, and then secondly to examine it for errors. In chapter VII errors are called fallacies of induction and of deduction. Criticism of reasoning involves the making of judgments, the acceptance of reasoning as sound or the rejection of it as specious.

3. To conclusions, you will apply the tests of **importance**, of **inclusiveness**, and of **consistency**.

a. The test of importance. Suppose that after honest examination, you decide that an opponent's conclusion is justified because both his facts and his reasoning are sound. What is there to do? You can test the *importance* of the conclusion as a reasonable base upon which to found action. You admit the force of your opponent's contention, but you combat its effectiveness by showing greater strength to lie in your position. This is counter-argument. Counter-argument is similar to certain tactics in warfare or prize fighting: Napoleon met his enemy's attack of cavalry and artillery with a greater concentration of cavalry and artillery; Jack Dempsey was always willing to receive a blow if he could land a heavier one. In the recent fight on the sales tax in New Jersey, the opponents of the bill admitted that the tax would raise revenue, but they won the fight by showing the greater importance of their view that the sales tax reduces the normal buying power of the masses of the people.

b. The test of inclusiveness. Some conclusions are composed of more than one part. Burke in the *Speech on Conciliation*, for example, said that there were three courses of action to be taken toward the thirteen colonies: to change the spirit of the colonists, to prosecute it as criminal, or to comply with it as necessary. There was probably not a single debater in the House of Commons on that historic occasion who did not test Burke's conclusion for inclusiveness: had he stated *all* the possibilities? Burke then showed the first two to be impossible, and advocated the third as the only practicable course of action. Suppose there had been a fourth course

of action. With what glee his enemies would have pounced upon it! Burke's method in this instance is called the *method of residues*. The method is to state all the possibilities for the solution of a problem; then to show the ineffectiveness of all but one which is then put forward as the best policy.

Your opponent might cast his conclusion into two possibilities, both of which will have disastrous consequences. This is called the *dilemma*. In a debate on our commercial policy with Europe in case of war, a negative team phrased this dilemma: "If the affirmative continues to trade with the belligerents, we will be drawn into the war, as was amply shown by our experience in 1917. If the affirmative cuts off our trade, we will have four to six million additional men unemployed, with resulting misery and industrial depression." Did the negative include every course of action? The affirmative thought not; two possibilities were overlooked. First, we could continue to sell goods, but force the belligerents to carry the goods home in their own ships as in the cash-and-carry policy, thus preventing the sinking of American ships. Second, there was an excellent opportunity to take the markets in South America now supplied by England, France, and Germany, thus preventing any extreme unemployment and industrial depression. There is no call for panic if your opponents insist you are faced with a dilemma which embraces all the possibilities. Apply to all conclusions of more than one part the test of inclusiveness.

c. The test of consistency. Usually no proposition is established by one and only one conclusion. The debater makes a pattern of conclusions to prove his case. When one conclusion, though valid in itself, does not fit into the pattern, there is inconsistency. A bright yellow tie is a fine item of dress in itself, but not in the pattern of an outfit for a formal dance. The most famous inconsistency in American debating (often miscalled a dilemma) is that in which Lincoln caught Stephen A. Douglas. Douglas supported the doctrine that settlers in a new territory could legally decide whether they wanted slavery or not, a doctrine known as "popular sovereignty." At the same time, Douglas declared that he upheld the

Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court, which stated that under the Constitution of the United States any citizen could legally hold slaves, and no one could prevent him. Here are two conclusions that are inconsistent with each other. Falling into inconsistencies is so common in debating that you should constantly be checking on the pattern of your opponent's conclusions.

Thus, we have seen, the function of analysis is to cast into concise form all the arguments used to support the proposition; and to resolve each of the arguments into its component parts of facts, reasoning, and conclusion. Analysis asks, "What has been said?" The function of criticism is to examine fairly the worth of the facts, the correctness of the reasoning, and the justness of the conclusions. The object of criticism is to find errors in the framework of the opponent's case, to pass judgment upon the soundness of his arguments, to discriminate between strong points and weak ones. In its broadest aspects, criticism in refutation is the assigning of values to the parts and to the whole of an opposing case. Criticism asks, "How good are the opponent's arguments?"

C. Presenting the Refutation. Since debating is carried on before an audience and not in mental silence, the results of the analysis and the criticism must be given form. Now criticism implies a decision to take up certain arguments. The debater in refutation, whether in the constructive speech or in the rebuttal speech, selects from the synthesis he has made through analysis the two or three really potent arguments of the opponents and handles them as devastatingly as time and energy permit. Each bit of refutation is a small speech in itself. It is a deftly sketched miniature; a constructive speech is a full-length portrait.

1. *The first step is to state clearly and fairly the argument to be refuted.* The audience has partially forgotten it; perhaps they do not perceive its exact meaning. Explain the point carefully. Do not introduce the argument to be refuted in such ways as these: "Some one said something about. . . ." "And also, I have a note here about something that had to do with. . . ." "Then, too. . . ." The following are preferable: "The speaker who has just left the

platform has maintained that the proposition should be adopted because. . . ." "The affirmative has handled two issues in this debate. First. . . . Second. . . ." Be exact.

2. Having clarified the point to be refuted, the next step you must take is *to present the reasons for your disapproval*. Clearly indicate whether you are attacking facts, reasoning, or conclusions.

3. Finally, *summarize in a sentence and state your position on the issue or contention refuted*. The ideal is to refute not only with new material bearing specifically on the attacked point, but also to refute with the weight of your entire case. Thus you start with your opponent's contention, destroy it, and end with your own interpretation. The following example illustrates each of the three steps described:

Statement of
Point to be
Refuted

The gentlemen of the negative have maintained tonight that there are only two ways of handling the war debts: either they must be collected, or they must be canceled. Cancellation is the only practical solution, they say, for the Allies have insufficient quantities of gold to pay the debts; the services which they render in the form of shipping, etc., are pitifully small; the amount of stock owned in American corporations which they could transfer to us is too little; and if we accepted their goods in payment, we would flood our markets and dislocate our industries.

The
Refutation

The negative, ladies and gentlemen, has not perceived all the possibilities; their conclusions are not inclusive. They have neglected the political principle of compromise. Thus we need not collect *in toto*, nor cancel *in toto*; we can compromise and make a partial collection. We agree with the negative that the allied supply of gold is too small for complete payment, but we wish to point out that it is large enough for partial payment. It is true that the three-billion-dollar investments of the Allies in this country will not amortize the entire debt, but some of it can be applied to its payment; the three hundred million dollars' worth of services rendered to us annually are no doubt pitifully small, but they are

large enough to keep up interest payments. We do not advocate "flooding our markets with cheap foreign goods," but many goods such as rubber, linen, cutlery, textiles, and others which do not compete with American industry can safely be accepted as payment on the debt.

Summary

Thus the negative, ladies and gentlemen, has not included in its possible actions on the war debt problem the practical solution of partial collection which we have consistently advocated. They have given you the facts on gold, services, credit, and goods, but have failed to make the necessary conclusion that if some payment is made from each of these sources, then partial collection is feasible. Not only is partial collection financially possible, but, as we have hitherto suggested, it is politically desirable. [The speaker now proceeds either to take up refutation on the political desirability, or simply to clinch the point by adding a positive reason for partial collection.]

IMPORTANCE OF REFUTATION

Skill in refutation distinguishes the debater from the orator. To single out an objection, to state it clearly and economically, and to dispose of it effectively constitute a great art. In all practical affairs, there is disagreement upon the action to be taken. Alternate attack and defense succeed each other. In this pattern of attack and defense, refutation is indispensable in establishing a conclusion. Refutation, energetically handled, is the deciding factor in an intellectual clash. When you are on the platform, seek openings for objection, sharpen the antithesis between your opponent's position and your own, liberally salt your speech with refutation.

SUMMARY

I. When to refute

- A. Refutation is demanded whenever it is necessary to allay the doubts of the audience.

II. Procedure in refutation

- A. Analyze your opponent's arguments for facts, reasoning, and conclusion.
- B. Be critical of your opponent's arguments.
 1. Apply the tests for both direct and indirect evidence.
 2. Apply the tests to the different types of reasoning used.
 3. Apply the tests of importance, conclusiveness, and consistency to the conclusion.

III. Presenting the refutation

1. State clearly and fairly the argument to be refuted.
2. Present reasons for your disapproval.
3. Summarize your position on the contention or issue refuted.

EXERCISES

1. From the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Jonesboro (see Appendix), prepare to present one of the following arguments and the refutation made of it.

(a) Douglas's argument that the Republican party was the result of a "deal" between certain Whigs and Democrats.

(b) Douglas's argument that the American system allows each state to regulate slavery in its own way.

(c) Douglas's argument that Lincoln and his party change their principles in different parts of the state.

(d) Douglas's argument that slavery should be left as the framers of the Constitution left it.

(e) Lincoln's argument that the Union cannot permanently exist half slave and half free.

2. After Webster's "Reply to Hayne," Senator Hayne rose and repeated his constitutional argument for the right of a state to nullify an act of Congress. Webster then rose and delivered the following rebuttal (here shortened by about one-third). Analyze Webster's refutation. To what extent does he object to Hayne's alleged facts? To what extent does he object to his reasoning? Does he keep clear the distinction between refuting his alleged facts and refuting his reasoning?

A few words, Mr. President, on this constitutional argument, which the honorable gentleman has labored to reconstruct.

His argument consists of two propositions and an inference. His propositions are:

1. That the Constitution is a compact between the States.
2. That a compact between two, with authority reserved to one to interpret its terms, would be a surrender to that one of all power whatever.
3. Therefore, (such is his inference) the general government does not possess the authority to construe its own powers.

Now, Sir, who does not see, without the aid of exposition or detection, the utter confusion of ideas involved in this so elaborate and systematic argument?

The Constitution, it is said, is a compact *between States*; the States, then, and the States only, *are parties* to the compact. How comes the general government itself *a party*? Upon the honorable gentleman's hypothesis, the general government is the result of the compact, the creature of the compact, not one of the parties to it. Yet the argument, as the gentleman has now stated it, makes the government itself one of its own creators. It makes it a party to that compact to which it owes its own existence.

For the purpose of erecting the Constitution on the basis of a compact, the gentleman considers the States as parties to that compact; but as soon as his compact is made, he then chooses to consider the general government, which is the offspring of that compact, not its offspring, but one of its parties; and so, being a party, without the power of judging on the terms of compact. Pray, Sir, in what school is such reasoning as this taught?

If the whole of the gentleman's main proposition were conceded to him; that is to say, if I admit, for the sake of the argument, that the Constitution is a compact between States, the inferences which he draws from that proposition are warranted by no just reasoning. If the Constitution be a compact between States, still that Constitution, or that compact, has established a government, with certain powers; and whether it be one of those powers, that it shall construe and interpret for itself the terms of the compact, in doubtful cases, is a question which can only be decided by looking to the compact, and inquiring what provisions it contains on this point. Without any inconsistency with natural reason, the government even thus created might be trusted with this power of construction. The extent of its powers, therefore, must still be sought for in the instrument itself. . . .

I have admitted that, if the Constitution were to be considered as a creature of the State governments [and contained no provision as to its own construction], it might be modified, interpreted, or construed according to their pleasure. But, even in that case, it would be necessary that they should *agree*. One alone could not interpret it conclusively; one alone could not construe it; one alone could not modify it. Yet the gentleman's doctrine is, that Carolina alone may construe and interpret that compact which equally binds all, and gives equal rights to all.

So then, Sir, even supposing the Constitution to be a compact between the States, the gentleman's doctrine, nevertheless, is not maintainable; because, first, the general government is not a party to that compact, but a *government* established by it, and vested by it with the powers of trying and deciding doubtful questions; and secondly, because, if the Constitution be regarded as a compact, not one State only, but all the States, are parties to that compact, and one can have no right to fix upon it her own peculiar construction.

So much, Sir, for the argument, even if the premises of the gentleman were granted, or could be proved. But, Sir, the gentleman has failed to maintain his leading proposition. He has not shown, it cannot be shown, that the Constitution is a compact between State governments. The Constitution itself, in its very front, refutes that idea; it declares that it is ordained and established *by the people of the United States*. So far from saying that it is established by the governments of the several States, it does not even say that it is established by the people of *the several States*; but it pronounces that it is established by the people of the United States in the aggregate. The gentleman says, it must mean no more than the people of the several States. Doubtless, the people of the several States, taken collectively, constitute the people of the United States; but it is in this, their collective capacity, it is as all the people of the United States, that they establish the Constitution. So they declare; and words cannot be plainer than the words used. . . .

3. In the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Galesburg, Lincoln made the following refutation of an argument of Douglas's which was based on the Dred Scott decision. The minor premise of Lincoln's syllogism is quoted directly from that decision. What method of refutation is Lincoln using?

I think it follows, and I submit to the consideration of men capable of arguing, whether, as I state it, in syllogistic form, the argument has any fault in it:


Nothing in the constitution or laws of any state can destroy a right distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution of the United States.

The right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution of the United States.

Therefore, nothing in the constitution or laws of any state can destroy the right of property in a slave.

I believe that no fault can be pointed out in that argument; assuming the truth of the premises, the conclusion, so far as I have capacity to understand it, follows inevitably. There is a fault in it as I think, but the fault is not in the reasoning; but the falsehood in fact is a fault of the premises. I believe that the right of property in a slave *is not* distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution, and Judge Douglas thinks it *is*. I believe that the Supreme Court and the advocates of that decision may search in vain for the place in the Constitution where the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed. I say, therefore, that I think one of the premises is not true in fact.

4. Reread Huxley's example of the use of indirect evidence to explain the loss of teapot and spoons (above, pp. 94-95); now invent some facts which might be discovered which would render the suggested hypothesis implausible or impossible.



CHAPTER IX

PERSUASION

CAN you make a person believe what he does not want to believe? Yes, if the proof is overwhelming. I do not want to believe that my political friend is a grafter, but if you come to me and show checks, receipts, and letters that prove he accepted bribes for political favors, I must believe it. I do not want to believe that the bank I have patronized is insolvent; but if I read an announcement to that effect in the newspaper, I must believe it.

But where the question is more cloudy, where proof cannot be so clear and strong, a person is likely to believe what he wants to believe. Arguments showing that the United States has been more fair in foreign relations than have some other countries seem very strong to me, because as a patriotic American I want to believe that our country has been fair. If someone tries to show me that what a foreign country is doing, by way of conquest or oppression, is no worse than my own country has done, I feel uncomfortable; I do not want to listen. A certain Virginia gentleman is reported to have said: "If the Democratic party is not the best political party that ever existed and if the Episcopal Church is not the best church, I want to die before I find it out." Thus we tend to hug our beliefs.

And so a part of the task of any debater is to make his hearers *want* to agree with him. The way this fact is usually stated is this: a speaker must **persuade** as well as **convince**. An author of the

seventeenth century, Samuel Butler, wrote the following wise couplet:

He that complies against his will
Is of his own opinion still.

In recent times the saying often appears in this form:

Convince a man against his will,
He's of the same opinion still.

In either reading the fact remains that to persuade anyone, you must win over his will, or his willingness to believe.

The audience will be willing to believe when the speaker shows himself to be trustworthy, when his arguments do not offend cherished beliefs and feelings, and when his style and delivery command intelligent interest. In other words, persuasions result from the speaker, the material, and the presentation.

THE SPEAKER

The persuasive speaker will be modest, fair, and sincere. *Modesty is greatly to be desired in one who expects to gain the friendship and attention of an audience.* Egotism is just as greatly to be deprecated. Nothing hinders a speaker more than the bar he often puts in his own way when he is endeavoring to get his thought into the minds of his audience; that bar is himself. "The arguer always should take the attitude that the cause he is upholding is greater than its advocate." The speaker should be careful in word and action not to appear arrogant; neither, on the other hand, should he assume the Uriah Heep attitude: "Can't you see how 'umble I am?" It is dangerous to apologize; it is fatal to boast. The following paragraph from Lincoln's "Address to the Ohio Legislature" is a good example of the golden mean of modesty:

It is true, as has been said by the president of the Senate, that a very great responsibility rests upon me in the position to which the votes of the American people have called me. I am deeply sensible of that weighty responsibility. I cannot but know, what

you all know, that without a name, perhaps without a reason why I should have a name, there has fallen upon me a task such as did not rest even upon the Father of his Country; and so feeling, I can turn and look for that support without which it will be impossible for me to perform that great task. I turn then, and look to the American people, and to that God who has never forsaken them.

A debater, to be sure, may not be in the same position as was Lincoln, traveling to Washington to take charge in a time of great difficulty. Yet the debater, like Lincoln, can direct attention away from himself to the importance of the question under discussion, and like Lincoln he can subordinate his personal abilities and fortunes to the task of deciding this question.

The speaker should play fair. The unwillingness to concede anything to the opposition oftentimes does more than anything else to incur the prejudice of the audience. Any question that is worth debating must of necessity have two sides; neither side is all black or all white. The sooner a speaker understands that contrary opinions are held with equal sincerity, the better chance he has of winning belief. A student who says to a faculty committee concerning a rule of discipline, "This rule is stupid. I refuse to accept it," at once prejudices his judges. He should rather assume that the members of the faculty are as intelligent as himself, and should show that he is attempting to understand the conditions that gave rise to the rule. In fairness, his duty is to suggest a revised rule that will be more satisfactory. If he does this, at once he and the committee are united in a common endeavor to improve the situation. The fair-minded debater on the platform assumes that his opponents are honest and sincere; he does not magnify slight errors in his opponents' statistics or reasoning; he does not claim that he has demolished an argument when in fact he has merely weakened it; he shows himself at all times to be reasonable and just.

Sincerity induces confidence in you on the part of the audience. It is similar to the effect of one musical instrument upon another.

If you sound a note on one instrument, the same note will vibrate in all the other musical instruments near by. It seems to be equally true that sincerity of mind and feeling gives to the voice a quality which induces a sympathetic vibration in the minds and emotions of the audience. The question is often asked, Can a debater be sincere, yet argue on either side of a particular question? The answer is twofold. First, he is sincere, no matter which side he is arguing on, in his desire to have the question threshed out. He knows that there cannot be full discussion without the presentation of both sides. He has, therefore, a sincere belief in the democratic process and in the importance of the question. In the second place, no matter which side he is arguing on, he finds himself representing a body of genuine opinion sincerely held by many of his fellow-citizens. He should take seriously his task as representative of this "constituency." Knowing the importance to these people of a fair statement of their views, he will be sincere. He cannot be flippant or "slick."

PERSUASIVE MATERIAL

The principle for choosing persuasive material is: *Do not disturb any more than necessary the fixed beliefs of your hearers, but rather show, if possible, that your views are in accord with their fixed beliefs.* It is possible that what you are arguing for is actually opposed to some fixed beliefs of the audience, but is in accord with others. Then your task is to show that in this instance the latter beliefs, the ones your plan agrees with, are the ones which should rule. For example, suppose you are arguing for federal housing. Most of the hearers may have a fixed belief that the government should not enter such a business as housing, which is usually carried on by private individuals or corporations. They may also have a fixed belief that the outlay of government money should be cut down. You must run directly counter to the first of these beliefs and somewhat less directly counter to the second. But your audience also has a fixed belief that crime should be cut down. Hence

you might do well to begin with this last line of thought and prove that crime can be cut down by better housing; then, as to the second belief mentioned, holding down the expense of government, you could argue that the saving on the crime bill would pay for at least a part of the expense, and that, as a matter of fact, the housing projects themselves are not a dead loss but will pay for themselves over a period of time. That leaves only the first of the fixed beliefs mentioned — that the government should not go into fields of private business. But by this time you have shown the desirability of your plan, and you may have shown it to be so desirable that you can appeal to the audience to forget its objection in view of the great advantages to be gained. Or you can show that private business of many kinds will benefit by the government's outlay, since the government will have to purchase lumber and other building materials. It will give employment to carpenters and builders, it will improve real estate values in the neighborhoods where it builds, and, finally, its projects may eventually be taken over by private corporations. Thus you can show that your plan is not wholly out of accord with the belief in question.

In general, the way to be sure you are not going to offend the fixed beliefs of your hearers is to make as many of your statements as possible begin with "We all agree . . ." "All of us want . . ." "As Americans, we believe . . ." or some such phrase. Such statements of common ground should appear in the opening part of a speech and again whenever you launch upon a new argument. Even toward your opponents the most persuasive attitude to take is that they, like you, are seeking to advance the best interests of the community, or seeking to get at the truth of the matter being debated. Your disagreement is usually about methods rather than aims; and by dwelling upon the aims you have in common, you disarm to some extent the forces against you.

In short, your material will be persuasive and will make people want to agree with you if you can demonstrate that you really agree with them — with some, at least, of their important convictions.

PRESENTATION

How can you make your argument attractive and interesting? Much will depend upon your delivery, and some advice upon that important subject will be found in a later chapter. Much will depend, indeed, upon your appearance and personality, matters which can hardly be made the subject of instruction here. But also in the preparation of your arguments and evidence, you can plan to be interesting: you can **prepare to present your points clearly, concretely, and appealingly.**

For the sake of clearness and concreteness, you will not reel off a series of statistics which could be understood only if read and studied. Do not say:

Out of 198 students whose records were studied, 103, or 53.5 per cent, were found to have made a grade of 80 or better in Latin; 54, or 27.3 per cent, were found to have made a grade between 65, the passing grade, and 80; and 38, or 19.2 per cent, received a grade below 65.

If you wish to present this material, try something like this:

The records in the registrar's office show that if two hundred students are taking Latin, about one hundred and ten of them will get a good grade, an honor grade; another group of about fifty students will do well enough to pass the course; and one fifth of the whole number, or forty students, will fail.

For the sake of clearness and concreteness, also, you will not overwork technical and unfamiliar terms. Do not say:

The environmental factors of small college attendance include a maximal ratio of contacts with mature and socially adjusted personalities under non-classroom conditions,

when what you mean is:

A student attending a small college will meet his teachers outside the classroom; he may see them in their homes; he may go to church with them; he may play ball with them.

For the sake of clearness and concreteness, finally, you will compare the less known, the less familiar, with the better known and more familiar. Suppose your opponent in debate has quoted, as authoritative, a statement by the secretary of the Manufacturers' Association, and you wish to question the value of such a statement, because you believe the maker of it is prejudiced. You might say:

The secretary of the Manufacturers' Association is not an unbiased or trustworthy witness in this case. He speaks as an advocate, not as an impartial observer. What do I mean by an advocate? Well, suppose Mr. A is a writer of advertising, and is hired to write advertisements for Whosis Pork and Beans; of course he will say that Whosis Pork and Beans are the best pork and beans ever baked and put into cans. But suppose that tomorrow the Whatsis Canning Company comes along and offers Mr. A more money to work for them. What will he do? He will sign up and begin writing advertisements for Whatsis Pork and Beans, and he will say that no bean ever baked was as good as the bean in Whatsis cans. And so with the secretary of the Manufacturers' Association. He is paid to say such things as my opponent quoted; but if he were paid his salary by some other organization he would change his tune.

It was said above that for the sake of interest you should present your points clearly, concretely, and appealingly. The last adverb suggests **feeling, or emotion**. You will interest people if you can stir their feelings; and you can stir their feelings if your own feelings are genuinely stirred by what you are talking about. This does not mean that you must become tearful. It means that you must show what you say really *matters*, that it makes a real difference how the question is decided. Another way of saying this is that the speaker must *bring his point home* to the audience. Suppose you speak as follows:

Federal housing projects will help clear out the slums; and since slums are breeders of crime, these projects will help reduce crime.

Now if that is really true, it is important, to you and to your audience. But if you want the audience to be persuaded, you will have to bring the matter home to them, something after this fashion:

The men who make up the bands of racketeers, the hold-up men, the professional criminals, were usually boys that grew up in the slums of our cities and never had a home they cared to stay in, never had a playground except the street. So long as thousands of families are forced to live in slums and crowded tenements, boys will grow up to lives of crime because they have never known anything better. That means that so long as the slums exist, you and I will not be safe from the criminal, you and I will continue to pay every day for the extra "cut" taken by the racket, and for the police, the federal agents, the courts and prisons which are engaged in a battle, and often a losing battle, against this army of crime. Better housing will mean better homes; better homes mean that fewer boys will seek the street-corner gang; and that means that your car and your home will be safer from the thief, your child safer from the kidnapper.

Emotions are facts. When we speak of "facts and figures," we sometimes overlook the circumstance that the way people feel about a question or a political candidate or an authority quoted is just as much a fact as any other. The emotions of the audience, of the speaker, and of his opponents are hard facts, to be reckoned with. Hence the study of emotions, how to arouse, to control or direct, and to allay them, too, is part of the study of argumentation. People do love their families, and want to protect and foster their children's welfare. People do love their country and its traditions. Alumni do have a tender feeling for their school or college. There is bad feeling resulting from difference of races, whether we like it or not. A debater cannot speak as if talking to and with metal machines.

Hence if the debater advances sound reasons to prove that what he is arguing for will help keep the country and its traditions safe, he has a perfect right, even a duty, to point out how valuable the country and its traditions are. He has a right, in other words, to arouse the feeling of patriotism, if he can. If he believes that the

plan put forward by his opponent appeals only to selfish and narrow interests, that it may lower taxes or bring a business boom but will mean turning our backs upon our larger and more unselfish duty, then he has a right to appeal to the sense of duty in his audience, or to their unselfishness and benevolence. That is, the debater may well try to displace one emotion (in this case, the desire for better financial conditions) by another (sense of duty toward others). In the debate with Hayne, Daniel Webster's opponents had played upon the local spirit of independence in separate states and sections — a spirit very strong in a young republic wherein each state was a sovereign government with distinct traditions. Webster granted that this feeling was a legitimate one, but he tried to make the feeling for national union stronger and more active in the hearts of his hearers. Hence in his conclusion he denounced such watchwords as "What is all this [i.e., the Union] worth?" and "Liberty first and Union afterwards," but exalted "that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart, — Liberty *and* Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable!"

SUMMARY

- I. The debater must try to make his hearers want to agree with him.
 - A. Winning the will of the audience depends upon the speaker, his material, and his presentation.
- II. The speaker should be modest, fair, and sincere.
- III. The arguments should not violate fixed beliefs of the hearers.
 - A. If counter to some fixed beliefs, they should be shown to be in accord with others.
- IV. The presentation should be clear, concrete, and appealing.
 - A. Facts and figures can be made clear by various devices.
 - B. Liken the less known to the familiar.
 - C. Show that the argument matters to the audience.
 1. Emotions are facts.

ILLUSTRATION: ANTONY'S SPEECH TO THE ROMANS

The supreme feat of persuasion is to move an audience from an unfavorable or hostile position to a position of agreement. In Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (Act III, scene ii) we have an artistic representation of a speaker performing this very feat. Brutus, a leader in the group which assassinated Caesar, has spoken in justification of the deed. Because of his reputation for integrity and patriotism, he was listened to with respect, and his argument that Caesar's personal ambitions had reduced or would reduce Roman citizens to the position of slaves was accepted. Brutus claimed that he was a friend to Caesar, but his duty toward Rome was greater than his friendship. Antony had asked permission to bring Caesar's body and speak a few words in his memory. Although he is represented as playing skillfully upon the emotions of the crowd, it will be observed that Antony also managed to refute the arguments of Brutus and to advance arguments to the effect that Caesar was a benefactor of Rome.

ANTONY: For Brutus' sake, I am beholding to you.

4 CITIZEN: What does he say of Brutus?

3 CITIZEN: He says, for Brutus' sake,
He finds himself beholding to us all.

4 CITIZEN: 'Twere best he speak no harm of Brutus here.

1 CITIZEN: This Caesar was a tyrant.

3 CITIZEN: Nay, that's certain:
We are blest that Rome is rid of him.

2 CITIZEN: Peace! let us hear what Antony can say.

ANTONY: You gentle Romans, —

ALL: Peace, ho! Let us hear him.

ANTONY: Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears:
I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him.
The evil that men do lives after them:
The good is oft interred with their bones;
So let it be with Caesar. The noble Brutus
Hath told you Caesar was ambitious:
If it were so, it was a grievous fault,

And grievously hath Caesar answer'd it.
Here, under leave of Brutus and the rest, —
For Brutus is an honorable man;
So are they all, all honorable men, —
Come I to speak in Caesar's funeral.
He was my friend, faithful and just to me:
But Brutus says he was ambitious;
And Brutus is an honorable man.
He hath brought many captives home to Rome,
Whose ransom did the general coffers fill:
Did this in Caesar seem ambitious?
When that the poor have cried, Caesar hath wept:
Ambition should be made of sterner stuff:
Yet Brutus says he was ambitious;
And Brutus is an honorable man.
You all did see that on the Lupercal
I thrice presented him a kingly crown,
Which he did thrice refuse: was this ambition?
Yet Brutus says he was ambitious;
And, sure, he is an honorable man.
I speak not to disprove what Brutus spoke,
But here I am to speak what I do know.
You all did love him once, not without cause:
What cause withholds you then to mourn for him?
O judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason. Bear with me;
My heart is in the coffin there with Caesar,
And I must pause till it come back to me.

1 CITIZEN: Methinks there is much reason in his sayings.

2 CITIZEN: If thou consider rightly of the matter,
Caesar has had great wrong.

3 CITIZEN: Has he, masters?
I fear there will a worse come in his place.

4 CITIZEN: Mark'd ye his words? He would not take the crown;
Therefore 'tis certain he was not ambitious.

1 CITIZEN: If it be found so, some will dear abide it.

2 CITIZEN: Poor soul! his eyes are red as fire with weeping.

3 CITIZEN: There's not a nobler man in Rome than Antony.

4 CITIZEN: Now mark him; he begins again to speak.

ANTONY: But yesterday the word of Caesar might
Have stood against the world: now lies he there,
And none so poor to do him reverence.
O masters, if I were dispos'd to stir
Your hearts and minds to mutiny and rage,
I should do Brutus wrong and Cassius wrong,
Who, you all know, are honorable men:
I will not do them wrong; I rather choose
To wrong the dead, to wrong myself and you,
Than I will wrong such honorable men.
But here's a parchment with the seal of Caesar;
I found it in his closet; 'tis his will:
Let but the commons hear this testament —
Which, pardon me, I do not mean to read —
And they would go and kiss dead Caesar's wounds,
And dip their napkins in his sacred blood,
Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
And, dying, mention it within their wills,
Bequeathing it as a rich legacy
Unto their issue.

4 CITIZEN: We'll hear the will: read it, Mark Antony.

ALL: The will, the will! we will hear Caesar's will.

ANTONY: Have patience, gentle friends, I must not read it;
It is not meet you know how Caesar lov'd you.
You are not wood, you are not stones, but men;
And, being men, hearing the will of Caesar,
It will inflame you, it will make you mad.
'Tis good you know not that you are his heirs;
For if you should, O, what would come of it!

4 CITIZEN: Read the will; we'll hear it, Antony;
You shall read us the will, Caesar's will.

ANTONY: Will you be patient, will you stay awhile?
I have o'ershot myself to tell you of it:
I fear I wrong the honorable men
Whose daggers have stabb'd Caesar; I do fear it.

4 CITIZEN: They were traitors: honorable men!

ALL: The will! the testament!

2 CITIZEN: They were villains, murderers: the will! read the will.

ANTONY: You will compel me, then, to read the will?

Then make a ring about the corpse of Caesar,

And let me show you him that made the will.

Shall I descend? and will you give me leave?

ALL: Come down.

2 CITIZEN: Descend.

3 CITIZEN: You shall have leave.

(Antony comes down from the pulpit)

4 CITIZEN: A ring, stand round.

1 CITIZEN: Stand from the hearse, stand from the body.

2 CITIZEN: Room for Antony, most noble Antony.

ANTONY: Nay, press not so upon me: stand far off.

ALL: Stand back; room; bear back!

ANTONY: If you have tears, prepare to shed them now.

You all do know this mantle: I remember

The first time ever Caesar put it on;

'Twas on a summer's evening, in his tent,

That day he overcame the Nervii.

Look, in this place ran Cassius' dagger through:

See what a rent the envious Casca made:

Through this the well-beloved Brutus stabb'd;

And, as he pluck'd his cursed steel away,

Mark how the blood of Caesar follow'd it,

As rushing out of doors, to be resolv'd

If Brutus so unkindly knock'd, or no;

For Brutus, as you know, was Caesar's angel:

Judge, O you gods, how dearly Caesar lov'd him!

This was the most unkindest cut of all;

For when the noble Caesar saw him stab,

Ingratitude, more strong than traitors' arms,

Quite vanquish'd him: then burst his mighty heart;

And, in his mantle muffling up his face,

Even at the base of Pompey's statue,

Which all the while ran blood, great Caesar fell.

O, what a fall was there, my countrymen!

Then I, and you, and all of us fell down,

Whilst bloody treason flourish'd over us.

O, now you weep; and I perceive you feel
 The dint of pity: these are gracious drops.
 Kind souls, what, weep you when you but behold
 Our Caesar's vesture wounded? Look you here,
 Here is himself, marr'd, as you see, with traitors.

1 CITIZEN: O piteous spectacle!

2 CITIZEN: O noble Caesar!

3 CITIZEN: O woful day!

4 CITIZEN: O traitors, villains!

1 CITIZEN: O most bloody sight!

2 CITIZEN: We will be reveng'd.

ALL: Revenge! About! Seek! Burn! Fire! Kill! Slay! Let not a
 traitor live!

ANTONY: Stay, countrymen.

1 CITIZEN: Peace there! Hear the noble Antony.

2 CITIZEN: We'll hear him, we'll follow him, we'll die with him.

ANTONY: Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up
 To such a sudden flood of mutiny.

They that have done this deed are honorable;
 What private griefs they have, alas, I know not,
 That made them do it — they are wise and honorable
 And will, no doubt, with reasons answer you.

I come not, friends, to steal away your hearts:

I am no orator, as Brutus is;

But, as you know me all, a plain blunt man,
 That love my friend; and that they know full well
 That gave me public leave to speak of him:

For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,
 Action, nor utterance, nor the power of speech,
 To stir men's blood: I only speak right on;
 I tell you that which you yourselves do know;
 Show you sweet Caesar's wounds, poor poor dumb mouths,
 And bid them speak for me: but were I Brutus,
 And Brutus Antony, there were an Antony
 Would ruffle up your spirits and put a tongue
 In every wound of Caesar that should move
 The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny.

ALL: We'll mutiny.

1 CITIZEN: We'll burn the house of Brutus.

3 CITIZEN: Away, then! come, seek the conspirators.

ANTONY: Yet hear me, countrymen; yet hear me speak.

ALL: Peace, ho! hear Antony, most noble Antony!

ANTONY: Why, friends, you go to do you know not what.
Wherein hath Caesar thus deserv'd your loves?

Alas, you know not; I must tell you then:

You have forgot the will I told you of.

ALL: Most true. The will! Let's stay and hear the will.

ANTONY: Here is the will, and under Caesar's seal.

To every Roman citizen he gives,

To every several man, seventy-five drachmas.

2 CITIZEN: Most noble Caesar! We'll revenge his death.

3 CITIZEN: O royal Caesar!

ANTONY: Hear me with patience.

ALL: Peace, ho!

ANTONY: Moreover, he hath left you all his walks,
His private arbours and new-planted orchards,
On this side Tiber; he hath left them you,
And to your heirs for ever; common pleasures,
To walk abroad and recreate yourselves.

Here was a Caesar! when comes such another?

1 CITIZEN: Never, never. Come, away, away!
We'll burn his body in the holy place,
And with the brands fire the traitors' houses.
Take up the body.


2 CITIZEN: Go fetch fire.

3 CITIZEN: Pluck down benches.

4 CITIZEN: Pluck down forms, windows, any thing.

(Exeunt Citizens with the body)

ANTONY: Now let it work. Mischief, thou art afoot,
Take thou what course thou wilt!



CHAPTER X

STYLE AND DELIVERY

WHAT doth it profit a man to spend hours in studying a debate question if his style and delivery, when he comes to speak, induce slumber? Having “worked up” the subject is not enough to insure a successful debating speech. Yet, knowing this, we must still insist that thorough preparation of your material is the first important step towards a successful presentation. No speech will ever be effective unless the speaker is thoroughly conversant with his material. Confidence begets confidence. The speaker cannot speak with confidence and enthusiasm if he is poorly prepared. The knowledge that he is poorly prepared and that he must of necessity grope for his thoughts will most certainly distract the audience. Full comprehension of his subject will give him a poise which will be of great help in leading the audience to believe that he speaks with authority. Don’t pump your mind dry in order to fill out the time, but have a storehouse of information, argument, and illustration; and then use that which is most cogent.

You need not be afraid of knowing more than you can possibly put into your speech. Edwin James Cattell, a lecturer who has spoken to approximately thirty million people, confided to a friend that if he did not, on the way home, kick himself for the good things which he had left out of his talk, he felt that the performance had been a failure. He knew from long experience that talks of highest merit are delivered by speakers who control a reserve of material, a plethora, a profusion of it — far more than the

speaker has time to use. Lincoln brooded over his speeches, jotted down ideas as they came along, lived with his subject.

As was suggested above, however, there is a difference between an attractive presentation and an unattractive, or boring, one, even when you do speak out of full knowledge. Attractiveness of presentation may be said to rest upon two things — an attractive style (that is, an attractive way of wording and phrasing your arguments) and attractive delivery (an attractive way of speaking, which depends upon your appearance, posture, movement, voice, pronunciation, and so on).

DEBATING STYLE

Compare these two passages, which we may imagine as spoken by two debaters:

1. If the plan of the opposition is to be carried into effect, the result will be a very great and difficult problem. There would be objections, and even resistance, perhaps leading to actual violence or warfare, and the supporters of the plan would have to fight if they wish to carry it out.

2. The honorable gentleman would be in a dilemma, like that of another great general. He would have a knot before him which he could not untie. He must cut it with his sword. He must say to his followers, "Defend yourselves with your bayonets," and this is war — civil war.

We shall have to say that the style of the second (which is from Webster's "Reply to Hayne") is better than that of the first. It is better in being more clear and more interesting — especially if we recall the story of Alexander and the Gordian knot, to which allusion is made. The words are shorter. The sentences are shorter. The whole is made dramatic, so that it brings up mental pictures. Generalizing from this example, we may say that debaters should mainly cultivate two qualities of style — **clarity** and **interest**.

Clearness in style. Although we are separating these two qualities of style, the fact is that clearness helps hold interest and that interestingness helps make things clear. Hence what we say here about

clarity applies also to interest. We find that speaker clear, first of all, who *keeps us with him as he moves from one part of his speech to another*, from one point to another; who knows, in short, where he is in his argument and lets us know where he is. If he has told us that he has three reasons for favoring the proposition, we wish to know when he is talking about his first reason and when he proceeds to the second and to the third. If he gives a set of statistics, we want to know what they prove and how this proof supports his argument. If he is refuting an argument made by his opponent, we wish to know what that argument is. In other words, hewing to the line, or telling a straight story, is one of the major tactics of good debating style.

Another major tactic is the *use of illustration*. Daniel Webster, in the speech already quoted from, made these general statements: "This leads, Sir, to the real and wide difference in political opinion between the honorable gentleman and myself. On my part, I look upon all these objects [public improvements] as connected with the common good, fairly embraced in its object and its terms; he, on the contrary, deems them all, if good at all, only local good. This is our difference." He might have stopped there, considering that the point had been made and the difference was clear. But he went on, giving an illustration which led to other brief illustrations:

The interrogatory which he proceeded to put, at once explains the difference. "What interest," asks he, "has South Carolina in a canal in Ohio?" Sir, this very question is full of significance. It develops the gentleman's whole political system; and its answer expounds mine. Here we differ. I look upon a road over the Alleghenies, a canal round the falls of the Ohio, or a canal or railway from the Atlantic to the Western waters, as being an object large and extensive enough to be fairly said to be for the common benefit. The gentleman thinks otherwise, and this is the key to his construction of the powers of government.

Illustrations, we see, need not be long. Seldom does the debater want to dwell at length on a single one, in the manner of an orator or a lecturer. A more extended use of single illustration will be

seen in the following passage from one of Lincoln's debating speeches against Douglas; Lincoln is using an analogy to show that the spread of slavery was really planned by sympathizers with that system, and his analogy is made the more pointed by his use of the first names of Douglas, President Pierce, Chief Justice Taney, and President Buchanan:

We cannot absolutely know that all these adaptations are the result of preconcert. But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places and by different workmen — Stephen, Franklin, Roger, and James, for instance — and when we see these timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortises exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places and not a piece too many or too few, — not omitting even scaffolding, — or, if a single piece be lacking, we see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared yet to bring such piece in — in such a case, we find it impossible not to believe that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft drawn up before the first blow was struck.

Restatement also helps to produce clearness. Go back to the passage from Webster, quoted above, and notice: “. . . the real difference . . . explains the difference . . . Here we differ . . . The gentleman thinks otherwise. . . .” On first reading you did not notice how much repetition there is in the passage. Upon examination you find that Webster never lets you forget that he is talking about a difference in political thinking between himself and his opponent. He is not afraid to repeat the same word or words. Like all good things, restatement can be overdone. The debater may hammer on a word, a phrase, or a statement until he tires his listeners. But by using slight variations of wording, and by seeing to it that between restatements he has advanced the argument, has really said something pertinent, the speaker will make repetition serve the end of clearness. Have you ever noticed how much repetition, of words or of ideas, there is in Lincoln's short Gettysburg

Address? Here is another passage from Webster, with the repeated words or ideas italicized:

Sir, we narrow-minded people of New England do not reason thus. Our notion of things is entirely different. We look upon the States, *not as separated, but as united*. We love to dwell on *that union*, and on the mutual happiness which it has so much promoted, and the common renown which it has so greatly contributed to acquire. In our contemplation Carolina and Ohio are parts of *the same country*; States, *united under the same general government*, having interests common, associated, intermingled. In whatever is within the proper sphere of the constitutional power of this government, we look upon the state as *one*. We do not impose geographical limits to our patriotic feeling or regard; we do not follow rivers and mountains and lines of latitude to find boundaries, beyond which public improvements do not benefit us. We who come here, as agents and representatives of these narrow-minded and selfish men of New England, consider ourselves as bound to regard with an equal eye the good of *the whole*, in whatever is within our powers of legislation. . . . These same narrow-minded men would tell me that they had sent me to act for the *whole country*, and that one who possessed too little comprehension, either of intellect or feeling, one who was not large enough, both in mind and in heart, to embrace *the whole*, was not fit to be intrusted with the interest of any part.

The repetition of "narrow-minded," applied ironically to his own New England constituents, might also be noticed.

Interest through style. The subject of interest has already been presented in a general way in the discussion of persuasion, chapter IX. Here we may add a few specific suggestions.

Begin your argument with a short, striking sentence which will capture the attention. Or you may begin with an illustration that is applicable to the point you wish to make. Get attention at the beginning. The student who opened with the sentence, "Do you know that slavery exists in seventeen nations of the world today?" aroused the curiosity of the audience.

Do not use too many long sentences. People will forget the first part of the sentence after you have used several "ands" and

“buts.” We may have picked up the notion that Daniel Webster habitually used long sentences, but when we examine the three quotations from him in this chapter, we find that he was also a master of short sentences. The quotation from Lincoln is not a good model in this regard, and does not represent Lincoln’s usual debating style.

Be free in your use of the interrogative sentence. The audience will be more alert if it is asked questions. By question the speaker takes his hearers along with him. The hearers feel that they have a part in the thinking process. Patrick Henry asked as many as seventeen short questions in one paragraph of the speech in which he was trying to arouse people to throw off the yoke of England. In some instances you should answer the questions as you want them answered. In other instances, when the reply is apparent, you should leave the questions unanswered.

Use humor, as occasion may arise. That is, do not try to force humor into the speech; but where a humorous turn of phrase or facetious bit of exaggeration or ridiculous comparison comes to your mind, you need not be afraid to use it. Humor is a general attitude of mind, related to the attitude of fairness already discussed, and even more closely related to common sense. If your view of the debate is broad enough and sensible enough, and if your knowledge of what you are talking about is deep enough, you will find that you can have some fun as you go along. So considered, humor is seen to be an integral part of civilized discussion; it is not something inserted mechanically by a “gag artist.”

DELIVERY

The student who is thoroughly conversant with his subject and who uses a clear, interesting style is likely to be effective in influencing his audience. To guarantee his effectiveness, however, he still must prepare for the delivery itself. In general, the best method of delivery for a debater is exactly the same as that for any other speaker. Yet some questions arise with special importance for the

debater, and these may be given special attention. The first is: must I memorize my speech, or shall I trust to extemporizing? In answering this, we might point out four methods which might be used in presenting a debate speech: (1) reading from manuscript; (2) speaking from memory; (3) extemporizing without notes; (4) extemporizing from notes.

METHODS OF DELIVERY

1. *Reading from manuscript.* This method hardly deserves mentioning, for a debate delivered in such a way is likely to be definitely ineffective. Since radio speaking, however, is becoming more general, we must consider this type of delivery; for radio speakers are compelled to read from manuscript, as a rule, in order to insure that the time limit will be observed and that, on the other hand, there will be no embarrassing pauses. When it is necessary to use this method in radio speaking (and it should be used then, and only then), the speaker should read aloud what he has to say a number of times, and endeavor to get away from monotony. His voice should reflect the variety and movement of his thoughts. He should not forget that he is, after all, talking to someone: the talk should be personal. The radio speaker has only one arrow in his quiver, his voice. A speaker standing before his audience has several — voice, facial expression, movement, posture.

2. *Speaking from memory.* This method also has the advantage of getting all your material within the time limit. You know ahead of time how long it takes to deliver the talk and you gauge the length of the speech to meet the demands of time. This method also allows thorough and repeated preliminary practice. There are, however, very definite disadvantages in memorizing. Perhaps the most serious one is that it does not permit you to change the argument to meet the exigencies of the occasion. If the preceding speaker has made statements which call for immediate refutation, it will be very difficult for you to fit any refutation into a speech already “cut and dried.” It is also possible that an opposing

speaker has made admissions which render a part of your speech unnecessary or inappropriate. To delete material from a memorized speech is next to impossible. Finally, a speech given from memory is likely to sound artificial and stilted. This last objection is the only one which applies to the first speech of a debate. The opener, in other words, has more reason to memorize than have the other debaters; yet even the opener may do better to use one of the remaining two methods.

3. *Extemporizing without notes.* This method of speaking freely without notes and without having committed to memory is perhaps the best method of all, though many young speakers think it so difficult that they never try it. Ideally, the debater is so thoroughly saturated with his subject that he needs no manuscript or notes, but speaks from a fullness of heart and mind. Each time an extemporaneous argument is delivered, the point of view will be identical, but the precise wording will be different. The method has certain dangers, in that if one is not skilled in its use he may ramble or spend too much time on unimportant points. Careful outlining of the main points, followed by oral practice in delivering these contentions, is essential if you are to be successful. This method makes possible variations in your treatment to meet the needs of the occasion. Your delivery is likely to have a spontaneity and a freshness which cannot come from either of the first two methods.

4. *Extemporizing from notes.* This is the method most often used; it is a sort of practical compromise. The speaker using this method can still adapt his speech to meet the needs of the situation. New material can be included up to the actual time of rising to speak. Having the notes will give the speaker a certain amount of confidence, for he knows that there is no reason for him to get confused or off the track. Yet this method, too, has its great danger. The speaker is likely to depend too much upon his notes. Staring at notes, or shuffling them, is a barrier to communication with the audience. If you must constantly peer at your notes, you cannot keep an audience interested. Hence this method requires

the same preliminary practice as any other. It does not permit one to debate acceptably without thorough preparation. Notes are not a substitute for thought and knowledge.

THE SPEAKER'S RELATION TO THE AUDIENCE

1. *Directness.* Too much cannot be said about the matter of talking directly to the audience. Listeners will have no continued interest in a speaker who looks over their heads, out of the window, or elsewhere than at them. The listeners want to feel that the message is definitely meant for them. Directness develops an interplay between speaker and audience: the audience is made attentive, and in turn contributes inspiration to the speaker. He must be careful not to keep his eyes upon any one group, or person, but to change his direction from one part of the room to another. This does not mean that he should try to spread each thought over the whole room, for this will disconcert the audience because of the continual movement of the head. Give one thought to one group, then change to another group for the next thought. You have something to say; you want to be in communication with those listening; you want them to get it. This impulse to communicate should enliven your voice and action.

2. *Conversational quality.* It is difficult for many speakers to realize that a public speech is based upon the same impulses and requirements as speaking in private conversation. There is a lingering belief that the public speaker is a different sort of person from the ordinary converser. The fundamental aim of an intelligent and practised speaker is to regard the audience much as he would an individual. A person does not see the air or bellow when he is talking with a group of friends. Neither should he do this when he is talking to an audience, for an audience is but a larger group of individuals. The speaker should consider the larger group with the same intimacy as he does the smaller group of friends. Of course, he will have to make some change in adapting himself to the larger room and the larger group. The conversational

speaking will have to be "stepped up," so to speak, but its essential qualities will remain the same. The audience must always feel the intimate contact which the speaker has with them in his desire to communicate his thoughts as one individual to another.

VOICE AND ORAL DICTION

There are certain fundamental means or resources of the voice which should be regarded if one is to be an effective speaker. Properly used, they help in proper emphasis and in variety of speech. They may be listed as (1) volume and force, (2) pitch, (3) rate or time, and (4) pause.

1. *Volume and force.* Loudness is the least artistic form of emphasis, and should least often be used for its own sake. Many speakers feel that to be effective they must shout and hammer the pulpit or desk. There are passages, to be sure, which will be more emphatic if they are driven home with force. Especially is this true when strong physical action enters into consideration. But it must be remembered that the continual use of force defeats its very purpose, because it precludes variety. All sentences sound out alike, and when the occasion arises where force would be helpful it fails, because it is the same as what has gone before.

Speaking loudly enough to be heard is a different matter. A speaker must always adjust his voice to the size of the room and should never lower the volume to the point where he is not easily heard. Looking and talking directly, from time to time, to the listeners who are farthest away from the speaker will help keep the speaking loud enough for all.

2. *Pitch.* In successful management of the voice, not only is variety in volume desirable but also variety in pitch. When the pitch of the voice is unchanged, a deadly monotony results, emphasis is lost, and the audience loses interest. A variety of pitch makes the speaker more interesting because of the variation, and is an excellent method of emphasis, making it possible for him to bring important words into high light. Don't hobble your voice;

it will not run away with you. If you give it free rein it will communicate with surprising faithfulness the mood, the connotation, and the literal sense of the words you are uttering.

3. *Rate or time.* Certain phrases, because of the importance of their content, should be held on to, or lingered upon. This slow rate given to the phrase makes it stand out in contrast to other phrases of lesser importance. Let us illustrate: "The United States now has an indebtedness of *fifty-two billion dollars*, compared with twelve billion a few years ago." The former figure may be stressed by holding on to the words, while the latter will, in comparison, be hurried. Again: "We are a *peace-loving people*." This means of emphasis, again, not only is helpful in stressing certain ideas, but it also gives a pleasing variety in tempo.

4. *Pause.* Pause is thought by many who have studied the subject deeply to be the most important of all forms of emphasis. It may serve two purposes: (1) to give the audience a chance to comprehend fully and to appreciate what has been said; (2) to hold the audience in anticipation of what is going to be said. In some instances the speaker pauses for both reflection and anticipation; at other times it will be for only one of these purposes. In the opening of Mark Antony's speech in *Julius Caesar*, "Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears. I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him," we might suppose that Antony used the pause after each of the first three words in order that the members of the crowd might fully comprehend that he, their supposed enemy, was calling them friends, Romans, and countrymen — words which touched them deeply and personally. Again, a pause after "I come to bury Caesar" would be for the purpose of having them realize that he came for a fitting purpose, by way of performing a duty, and not to make a political speech. On the other hand, he might pause after the word "not" in the phrase, "not to praise him," in order to arouse anticipation of what was coming next. In saying these lines aloud as you conceive Antony to have said them, you will immediately find that the pause is no mere mechanical trick; it springs from the feelings of the speaker, from the antithesis in

sense between "bury" and "praise," in other words, from the content of the words. You will also perceive that during the pause there is by no means a cessation of thought, or movement, or audience contact. On the contrary, you are still working in high gear, even while you are silent. Thus the effective speaker is as eloquent in his pauses as in his utterance.

Oral diction. For effective delivery you must enunciate clearly. The debater who mumbles his words is not only handicapped because he cannot be understood at the moment, but also because the listeners, in trying to figure out something he has said, will lose the train of thought in that which follows and will be unable to keep pace with him. The lips should be used flexibly and freely. Americans have been termed "lip lazy." For purposes of practice it is wise now and then to read or speak sentences with no idea of bringing out the thought but rather enunciating clearly and emphatically each syllable, thus: "We-are-liv-ing-un-der-a-free-and-in-de-pend-ent-gov-ern-ment." Such practice may help make one syllable-conscious and help to correct careless enunciation.

Similarly, a good debate speech will be marred if words are mispronounced. Some words have more than one acceptable pronunciation, but most of them have only one. Whenever the debater is in doubt, he should consult the dictionary, resolve his doubt, and then speak aloud the words he has looked up in their authorized pronunciations. A debater is expected to be a master of his material, and it is unfortunate if this opinion has to be discounted because of unacceptable pronunciations.

BODILY EXPRESSION

We must always remember that the ultimate purpose of argument is action: the debater wants his hearers to think a certain way, but their thought is to manifest itself in action — they are to speak, to vote, and to behave differently as a result of being convinced. In a sense the debater tries to make himself the leader of a group which is determined to act in a certain way. Hence the

debater must play the part of a leader — he must actually and even physically lead. This leadership comes as a result of the cogency of his argument plus the manner in which he presents the argument. Body, voice, and argument should unite in an effective whole. Nothing should come between the debater and the audience: any mannerism that calls attention to itself is a handicap and a hindrance to action.

1. *Posture.* The posture of a speaker, his physical bearing, should convey the right meaning and attitude. Remember that the person in the audience sees you as a physical being before he hears you speak. If you are untidy, slovenly, lackadaisical in your bearing, he will gain a bad impression. He will not feel like following you. If your posture is one that denotes egotism or a bullying spirit, he will be scornful or antagonistic. Just what is the correct posture? Certainly it is not one where the speaker slumps over a desk or has one leg wrapped about the other. A correct posture is achieved when the speaker stands erect, head and shoulders up, so as to give free use of voice, hands, and arms. The feet should be apart sufficiently to give an adequate base — either with the feet parallel to the edge of the platform and the weight evenly distributed, or with one foot slightly forward and the weight slightly over the forward foot. The toes should be turned out slightly so as to give freedom for turning from one side to the other. There should be no stiffness or tenseness in the standing position. Let your posture denote poise, ease, solidity, confidence.

2. *Movement.* Neither should the speaker give the impression of being frozen or nailed to one spot. He should move, either more or less, with the changes of his thought. This movement, remember, must correspond with thought and emphasis; the speaker who walks back and forth mechanically seems to be, as was said long ago, standing in a boat. A very slight shift of position is enough to break up rigidity. A half-step forward just before an important sentence may serve as effective emphasis; a step back or to the side may well precede the taking up of a new point, as if one were getting a fresh start.

3. *Gesture*. Gesture, the use of any part of the body to communicate or to accentuate a thought, is valuable so far as it comes spontaneously and is in harmony with the thought itself. Yet not all gestures which come spontaneously are helpful, for some may be awkward and attract attention to themselves; they may also be too frequent and too similar. In practice, gesture freely; but let your teacher or an intelligent friend watch you and tell you if and when you are distracting rather than assisting attention by your gestures. Watching one's self in a mirror will be of help. The important principle is that your hands and arms and head and whole body should be free to move in response to the genuine impulse of your thought and feeling. The actual movements in space may be slight; but the freedom of movement is an outer sign of poise and confidence.

SUMMARY

- I. Debating style.
 - A. The style should be clear.
 - 1. A clear style is orderly.
 - 2. The use of illustrations is a major tactic in clearness of style.
 - 3. Restatement aids clearness.
 - B. The style should be interesting.
 - 1. Begin an argument with a short, striking sentence.
 - 2. Do not use too many long sentences.
 - 3. Use freely the interrogative sentence.
 - 4. The use of humor is helpful.
- II. To be effective, you must have good delivery.
 - A. There are four possible methods of delivery.
 - 1. Reading from manuscript.
 - 2. Speaking from memory.
 - 3. Extemporizing without notes.
 - 4. Extemporizing from notes.
- III. The speaker's relation to the audience.
 - A. The speaker must be direct.

- B. The same conversational quality should prevail as though you were talking to an individual.

IV. Voice and oral diction.

- A. Use great volume and force sparingly.
- B. Variety of pitch avoids monotony and aids in emphasis.
- C. A change of rate or time is desirable.
- D. The pause is a most important form of emphasis.
- E. For effective delivery you must pronounce correctly and enunciate clearly.

V. Bodily expression.

- A. The posture should convey the right meaning and attitude.
- B. Movement on the platform must correspond with thought and emphasis.

EXERCISES

1. Discuss the relative emphasis you would place on delivery, form, and content in a debate.
2. What are the outstanding faults you find with most debaters or platform speakers? How would you correct these faults?
3. What is a good posture for speaking? Illustrate.
4. What do you consider the most fundamental thing in delivery? Give reasons for your conclusion.
5. Discuss several means of emphasis and illustrate the use of each.
6. Analyze the different methods used by Mark Antony in his speech in *Julius Caesar*, reprinted above, pp. 122–127. Show how he first overcomes the antagonism of his audience, then how he leads them gradually into a state of mind where they are willing to do as he desires. Antony uses every form of emphasis. His appeal to the emotions and his use of satire are masterful. He accomplishes what every debater desires to accomplish — action. Now, read the speech aloud and make the delivery as effective as possible.
7. Deliver the following with suitable voice and emphasis:
“Gentlemen may say, peace, peace, but there is no peace. The war has actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from

the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms.”
(Patrick Henry)

8. Find the passages in the Jonesboro debate of Lincoln and Douglas (printed in the Appendix) which seem to you to exemplify the best style for a debater. Give reasons for their excellence.



CHAPTER XI

FORMS OF DEBATE AND DISCUSSION

IN making arrangements for a formal debate one must decide (1) the number of speakers on each side, (2) the length of speeches, and (3) the number of rebuttal speeches. Usually a debate team — that is, the debaters who are supporting one side of a question — consists of either two or three persons. Naturally, they should be matched against a team of the same number. As to length of speeches, if there are only two debaters on each side, then each speaker may have more time than if there are three on a side. The total speaking time of a debate ought not extend much over fifty minutes or an hour, for the sake of the audience, since the chairman's introductions and the changing of speakers will occupy additional time. Coming to our third topic, we may say that separate rebuttal speeches may be limited to only one (by the first affirmative speaker after all debaters have delivered their constructive speeches) or two (one from each side); or it may be that those planning the debate will wish to have all four or six speakers give separate rebuttal speeches. As a rule, the rebuttal speeches will be limited to one-third, or at most one-half, the length of the constructive speeches. It is practically a universal rule of formal debating that an affirmative speaker shall close the debate, the reason being that since the affirmative side assumes the burden of proof, it should be given the slight advantage of having the last word.

As a result of these considerations, then, we find that the follow-

ing will represent typical schedules of formal debates, although local custom or convenience may dictate variations from these:

Teams of two:

CONSTRUCTIVE SPEECHES

1. First affirmative, ten minutes
2. First negative, ten minutes
3. Second affirmative, ten minutes
4. Second negative, ten minutes

REBUTTAL SPEECHES

5. First negative, four minutes
6. First affirmative, four minutes
7. Second negative, four minutes
8. Second affirmative, four minutes

In this schedule a frequent practice is for the affirmative speakers to switch places in rebuttal, so that the second affirmative speaker speaks in the sixth place and the first affirmative in the eighth.

Teams of three:

CONSTRUCTIVE SPEECHES

1. First affirmative, eight minutes
2. First negative, eight minutes
3. Second affirmative, eight minutes
4. Second negative, eight minutes
5. Third affirmative, eight minutes
6. Third negative, eight minutes

REBUTTAL SPEECHES

7. First negative, four minutes
8. First affirmative, four minutes

Timekeepers may be instructed to give warnings one or two minutes (as agreed upon beforehand) before the expiration of the time of each constructive speaker, and one minute before the expiration of the time of each rebuttal speaker. Sometimes the chairman declares a brief recess at the end of the round of constructive speeches, to give the debaters time to prepare rebuttal. We do not believe that such a recess should be necessary, and we

believe that it tends to break up the continuity and unity of the debate. Debaters who are well prepared and thoroughly interested will want to keep going without a recess. The rule that new constructive arguments are not to be introduced in rebuttal speeches is well known and should be observed. Debaters may here be reminded again, however, that there is no objection to using rebuttal in constructive speeches. In fact, a debater who answers an argument of the speaker who has just preceded him demonstrates his readiness and adds to the liveliness of the occasion.

Other necessities for the formal debate are a chairman, a judge or board of judges, and an audience. The work of the chairman needs no particular explanation. The matter of arrangements for judging, on the other hand, might be discussed at great length, for the attempt to get fair and intelligent judging of debates has for many years taxed the care and ingenuity of those who have charge of debating. Some who have studied the problem carefully favor having a single judge. Their argument is that if you trust your judge at all, you should trust him alone. If you do not trust him, then you do not want him as a member of a board of three judges. Furthermore, in the voting of a board of three judges, assuming that the final vote stands two to one, then the third judge — a single judge, in other words — has really decided the verdict. And if the voting is unanimous, then any one of the judges alone would have served as well as the three. These arguments carry some weight, and most people of experience will be fairly well satisfied with the employment of a single judge, provided that a person may be found who is intelligent, critical, and judicious. It is in some places customary to ask the single judge to explain the reasons for his decision, either publicly to the debaters and audience or privately to the debaters.

A judge is expected to award his verdict to the team which has more strongly advanced or supported its argument *in the debate itself*; that is, regardless of the judge's personal beliefs regarding the question. When the judge votes for the affirmative team, for instance, he does not in any way commit himself to the belief that

the affirmative view is the one which all people should take; he merely expresses his belief that in this debate the affirmative speakers have made the better argument. All this is usually clear to anyone intelligent enough to be a judge at all, and requires no special instructions. The phrases, "more strongly advanced or supported" and "made the better argument," in the statements above will include force of presentation as well as logical and factual strength. Weak delivery weakens the argument — and so does confused statement or inaccurate use of words.

If more than one judge is to be used, then the usual number is three; but there is no fixed rule governing the matter. The question may be raised as to whether the judges should consult with each other before rendering a decision or should each turn in an individual ballot without consultation. We favor the latter plan.

Audience votes. In many college debates, judges are dispensed with entirely. There is no reason why two teams cannot "thresh out" a question before an audience without expecting, or getting, a verdict at the end. Such a debate should constitute good practice for the speakers and a stimulating session for the hearers. If, however, some kind of decision is demanded, it is still possible to get one. A vote of the audience may be taken after the debate. Audience votes raise a number of questions. Will the audience vote upon the merits of the debate, as judges are supposed to do, or upon the merits of the question? If they do the second, then they are recording which side of the question they favor; and such a vote does not tell anything about the debate, for the audience may have been prejudiced toward one side or the other from the beginning. It is best to announce, if an audience vote is to be taken, exactly what is expected; that is, the chairman might have ballots passed and ask the audience to vote on the question — whether they favor the affirmative or negative view. Such a vote frankly has nothing to do with the merits of the debate, or the debating, but merely gives the hearers a chance to express their beliefs.

Some colleges have experimented with ballots intending to show "shift of opinion" on the part of the audience. That is, a

ballot is passed before the debate begins and each member of the audience is asked to register his opinion towards the proposition, whether "favorable," "neutral," or "opposed." Then similar ballots are passed after the debate is over. If the voting is honest, this makes possible a clear record of just how many people's minds were changed by the debate, and in which direction. By giving to each person a pair of "before" and "after" ballots bearing the same number, one can learn the effect of the debate upon each individual person — or its lack of effect. The difficulty with this system may be represented by these questions: How many people will be willing to admit they have changed their minds as the result of hearing an hour's debate? Assuming that they will be fairly honest and accurate in recording their opinions before the debate, how accurate can they be in determining their opinions, whether they have changed or not, immediately after the debate? Will they feel the same way the next morning? Probably the "shift of opinion" ballot works best with the "neutral" group; for it would seem more likely that a person without an opinion might arrive at one than that a person having an opinion should immediately and materially change it.

"OREGON PLAN" DEBATE

A type of debate introduced at the University of Oregon about fifteen years ago combines cross-examination with speaking. In this form there are two or three speakers on each side. Let us suppose a debate with two speakers on a side. The first affirmative speaker is allowed twenty minutes in which to present the entire constructive argument for his side. The first negative speaker also has twenty minutes for the negative argument. Then the first affirmative speaker is recalled to the platform and required to answer questions put to him by the second negative speaker. "The questioner is in charge, and the answers must be short and definite. The chairman is the final authority in any dispute regarding the relevancy of questions, the completeness and definiteness of

answers, the interpretation of the resolution, etc.”¹ This period of questioning lasts for ten minutes, after which the first negative speaker is called to the platform and similarly questioned for ten minutes by the second affirmative. Then the second negative speaker is allowed ten minutes for a speech, for the purpose of rebuttal and summary, followed by a speech of like length and purpose by the second affirmative.

If there are three speakers on a side, the task of cross-questioning may be assigned to the second on each team, while the third may then give the closing speech for each side. Or two speakers on each side might be heard in constructive speeches before the cross-questioning begins.

This type of debate requires very thorough preparation on the part of speakers; it allows the play of quick wit on the part of those who question and those who answer; and it is of special interest to audiences.

“ OPEN-FORUM ” DEBATE

The open-forum debate consists of a debate carried on by either two, four, or six speakers, with no judges appointed, but with an opportunity given to the audience to participate after the debaters have spoken. Audience participation may consist of questions directed to the speakers or of speeches from the floor. The whole tends to become a discussion rather than a debate, but the debaters may be said to open the discussion. The proposition may be stated in such a form as this: “ *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this house that the United States should own and operate the coal mines.” After all the discussion is over, a vote may be taken on the question; such a vote, then, really should represent “ the opinion of this house.” It will be found necessary to have rules for audience participation such as: speeches from the floor are limited to four minutes; no one person in the audience may speak more than twice; debaters on both sides should have an opportunity to speak in an-

¹ J. STANLEY GRAY, “ The Oregon Plan of Debating,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech Education*, April, 1926.

swer to questions from the floor. Sometimes the rule is made that no two successive speeches from the floor can be on the same side of the question.

In open-forum debating much depends upon cultivating a spirit of free discussion among both debaters and audience. The chairman of such a debate should combine the abilities of a good teacher with the abilities of a good presiding officer of the parliamentary type. He should know how to encourage discussion. He should repeat questions from the floor when they are not absolutely clear or clearly heard. And he should know how to cut off speakers when they want to talk too long, and how to bring the discussion to a close.

DISCUSSION

There is a growing tendency among school and college debaters to take part in discussions which are not to be classified as debates. It is generally conceded that to become enlightened concerning a question and to give a hearing to several ways of solving a problem may be more profitable than trying to prove absolutely that a certain proposal is the right one, and all others are wrong. With many questions, a compromise is the best solution. The proposition, "*Resolved*, That the gold content of the dollar should be fifty-nine cents," will illustrate the point. In a formal debate, the more or less traditional procedure would be for the affirmative to attempt to prove that the content should be changed to exactly fifty-nine cents, and for the negative to attempt to prove that it should remain as it is; or if the negative wishes to undertake the burden of an "alternative plan," it might argue for sixty-six cents, or any other figure. It is clear that the practical way to handle a question like this is by discussion and compromise, which might lead to deciding upon a content of sixty cents, or fifty cents, or some other figure which neither the affirmative nor negative in a two-sided debate would have hit upon.

We might liken such a discussion to the situation in our national Congress. Usually a bill has proponents and opponents, but

often there is a strong group of those who neither entirely approve nor disapprove, but wish to amend the bill in some way. This group may not agree on the same amendment, but by committee hearings, discussion, and compromise an amended bill is finally passed, quite different, perhaps, from the original bill and yet not suiting exactly the opponents of the original bill. Thus open discussion brings to light ideas that would not be revealed in a purely affirmative vs. negative argument.

A committee of the National Association of Teachers of Speech has drawn up the following comparison of discussion and debate:¹

Discussion and debate are alike in that

1. Ideally, both attempt to arrive at the best solution to a problem.
2. Both must be characterized by conflicting differences of opinion.

Discussion and debate are different in that

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Discussion is essentially expository in form. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Debate is essentially argumentative in form. |
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Discussion is a co-operative, investigative, and reflective technique by which a consensus of opinion may be reached as to the best solution to a problem. The objectives of discussion may be achieved, however, (a) when no consensus can be reached, or (b) when no attempt is made to reach a consensus of opinion. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Debate is a controversial technique in which two alternative or opposing causes of action are contrasted with a view to arriving at a solution by demonstrating the superiority of one over the other. |

¹ *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXVI (1940), 316; for a comprehensive appraisal of discussion and debate, see the following articles in the *Quarterly Journal of Speech*: A. D. SHEFFIELD, "Discussion, Lecture-Forum, and Debate," XVIII (1932), 517-31; D. D. MCKEAN, "Debate or Conference," XX (1934), 223-36; W. E. UTTERBACK, "Patterns of Public Discussion in School and Life," XXIV (1938), 584-89; J. F. O'BRIEN, "A Definition and Classification of the Forms of Discussion," XXV (1939), 236-43.

It would seem . . . that, in the problem-solving technique, discussion precedes debate.

It may be noticed, however, that many of the same abilities and methods are required in both discussion and debate. In both, the man who knows the most facts about the question is likely to be listened to with the most respect. Thorough preparation, then, is as necessary for good discussion as for good debate. In both, one essential is the analysis of the problem — the process of finding what are the most important differences of opinion, the most important questions to be answered before a solution can be reached. In both, the ability to speak clearly and interestingly is of value. In both, the person who understands the difference between a logically sound and a fallacious piece of reasoning will have a great advantage. Tests of good reasoning must be applied continuously. Formal speeches need not be planned, it is true, in discussions, except possibly by the person or persons who are to open the discussion. Yet before the occasion is over, he expects to present certain arguments and certain evidence, just as he expects to do in a debate.

THE PANEL DISCUSSION

A form of group discussion which has proved both popular and profitable is that known as the "panel discussion." A panel is a group of people — debaters or discussers — chosen because they know a great deal about the question to be discussed, but also because they represent different points of view upon it. If possible, no two members of a panel should agree one hundred per cent, though all should agree in a desire to have the question aired and to arrive at the best solution of it. A panel may consist of from four to twelve persons — or from three to fifteen, although the troubles arising from having too few or too many will be obvious. Its members sit about a table at the front of the room, or on chairs across the platform, and the chairman calls on one member of the panel to open the discussion. This member does so, and then other members speak, as called on by the chairman or as impelled by

their own desires; they do not speak in an exact, predetermined rotation, nor do all of them speak exactly the same length of time. The point is that the discussion among them must go on until each one has had a chance to present his view of the question. It is assumed that there is an audience listening to this discussion, though of course the discussion could take place without an audience. If there is an audience, at some point in the discussion the chairman throws the meeting open to the audience, and discussion proceeds as in the open-forum debate already described.

The panel is sometimes called a "round table" or a "committee." If it is organized as a committee, it may be that it will be expected to draw up a report; that is, a recommendation or set of recommendations which it makes as a result of its discussion. Coming to agreement upon these recommendations and the phrasing of them is the real problem of the discussion.

Sometimes a committee discussion is held without an audience. Such an occasion might well be called a conference, and the type of speaking done called "conference speaking." This is essentially no different, however, from other forms of discussion, except that the speakers probably always remain seated. In panel discussions, also, the speakers may remain seated if circumstances favor doing so.

DISCUSSION PRECEDING DEBATE

Let us go back to a sentence from the committee report already quoted, to the effect that "in the problem-solving technique, discussion precedes debate." This may be taken to mean that in general the stage of discussion is part of the background and preparation for a debate. A group may discuss a problem and many solutions may be suggested, but often the whole will finally boil down to a single main difference of opinion, which can be put into the form of a debate proposition and argued affirmatively or negatively. There will appear what is sometimes called a "fundamental cleavage," which cannot be settled by discussion or compromise, and which must be debated. But until this cleavage is

clear, or as long as it is possible to conceive of a compromise, discussion may be profitable. Thus debaters preparing for a formal debate should do a great deal of discussing before they settle upon the main issues and the exact arguments they will make. One might go further back and say that a thorough discussion of the general subject should precede the formulation of the proposition for debate. Even a discussion in class, by people who have not made a special study of the question, will sometimes bring out the various points of view and the main issues.

SUMMARY

- I. Arrangements for formal debates
 - A. Decide on number of speakers.
 - B. Decide on length of speeches.
 - C. Decide on number and length of rebuttal speeches.
 - D. Decide on system of judging.
 - E. Decide on audience participation.
- II. Debate on the "Oregon Plan"
- III. "Open-Forum" debating
- IV. Discussion
 - A. Technical distinction from debate
 - B. Abilities useful in both debate and discussion
 - C. The panel discussion
 1. Committee or conference discussion
 - D. Discussion preceding debate

EXERCISES

1. Divide the class into three political parties. Have each party present a candidate in a five-minute nominating speech. If time permits, have each group present a platform. Open the floor for questions and discussion. See that each side is allotted an equal amount of time. Finally, take a vote to see which candidate wins. It should be made clear that no member is under necessity to vote for the candidate of his party.

2. Have open discussion upon the following questions:

- (a) This college should adopt an honor system.
- (b) Chapel attendance should not be required.
- (c) Eligibility rules should be adopted (or eliminated) by this college for those engaging in intercollegiate activities.
- (d) The maxim, "My country, right or wrong," is a mistaken one.
- (e) Democracy is a failure.

3. Suppose the name of the college paper is to be changed. Let each member of the class bring a proposed name and give reasons for his choice. Then organize the meeting as a conference, and see whether, by discussion and informal votes or expressions of opinion, the choices can be narrowed and a decision reached.

The same exercise may be used with the problem of choosing the name for a new building; choosing a prominent man from outside the college as a commencement speaker; choosing an author to be invited to deliver a lecture; and so on.



APPENDIX

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

AMONG the most famous and important debates ever held in this country were those between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, when the two men were rival candidates for election as United States senator from Illinois in 1858. They engaged in seven joint debates during the months of August, September, and October, in the Illinois towns of Ottawa, Freeport, Jonesboro, Charleston, Galesburg, Quincy, and Alton. According to the plan, the first speaker in each debate was to have an hour's time, the second speaker an hour and a half, and then the first speaker had half an hour. Douglas spoke first in the first debate, Lincoln spoke first in the second, and so on. All the debates were held in the open air, and attracted large crowds. Douglas won election as senator, on the Democratic ticket; but two years later Lincoln won election as President on the Republican ticket over a divided opposition, with Douglas as candidate for the larger segment of the Democratic party and John Bell as candidate for what was called the Constitutional Union Party, largely made up of Northern Democrats.

In a speech delivered in Chicago on July 9, 1858, before the joint debates had been arranged, Douglas made the following analysis of the differences between him and his opponent:

I take great pleasure in saying that I have known personally and intimately for about a quarter of a century, the worthy gentleman who has been nominated for my place, and I will say that I regard

him as a kind, amiable, and intelligent gentleman, a good citizen and an honorable opponent; and whatever issue I have with him will be of principle and not involving personalities. Mr. Lincoln made a speech before the Republican convention which unanimously nominated him for the Senate — a speech evidently well prepared and carefully written — in which he states the basis upon which he proposes to carry on the campaign during the summer. In it he lays down two distinct propositions which I shall notice, and upon which I shall take a direct and bold issue with him.

His first and main proposition I will give in his own language, Scripture quotations and all [laughter]; I give his exact language: “ ‘ A house divided against itself cannot stand.’ I believe this government cannot endure, permanently, half *slave* and half *free*. I do not expect the Union to be *dissolved*, I do not expect the house to *fall*; but I do expect it to cease to be divided. It will become *all* one thing, or *all* the other.”

In other words, Mr. Lincoln asserts, as a fundamental principle of this government, that there must be uniformity in the local laws and domestic institutions of each and all the states of the Union. . . . Now, my friends, I must say to you frankly that I take bold, unqualified issue with him upon that principle. I assert that it is neither desirable nor possible that there should be uniformity in the local institutions and domestic regulations of the different states of the Union. The framers of our Constitution never contemplated uniformity in its internal concerns. . . .

The other proposition discussed by Mr. Lincoln in his speech consists in a crusade against the Supreme Court of the United States on account of the Dred Scott decision. On this question also I desire to say to you unequivocally that I take direct and distinct issue with him. I have no warfare to make on the Supreme Court of the United States, either on account of that or any other decision which they have pronounced from that bench. . . . Thus you see, my fellow citizens, that the issues between Mr. Lincoln and myself, as respective candidates for the United States Senate, as made up, are direct, unequivocal, and irreconcilable.

We give the greatest part of the Third Joint Debate; what is omitted (all omissions indicated) consists largely of evidence from newspapers concerning local political campaigns. The complete series of debates has been published several times. It will be noticed

that though other issues, besides the two which Douglas found in July, have entered into the debate, those two still are the main ones.

THIRD JOINT DEBATE, AT JONESBORO

September 15, 1858

Mr. Douglas's Speech

Ladies and Gentlemen: I appear before you today in pursuance of a previous notice, and have made arrangements with Mr. Lincoln to divide time, and discuss with him the leading political topics that now agitate the country.

Prior to 1854 this country was divided into two great political parties known as Whig and Democratic. These parties differed from each other on certain questions which were then deemed to be important to the best interests of the Republic. Whigs and Democrats differed about a bank, the tariff, distribution, the specie circular and the sub-treasury. On those issues we went before the country and discussed the principles, objects, and measures of the two great parties. Each of the parties could proclaim its principles in Louisiana as well as in Massachusetts, in Kentucky as well as in Illinois. Since that period, a great revolution has taken place in the formation of parties, by which they now seem to be divided by a geographical line, a large party in the North being arrayed under the Abolition or Republican banner, in hostility to the Southern states, Southern people, and Southern institutions. It becomes important for us to inquire how this transformation of parties has occurred, made from those of national principles to geographical factions. You remember that in 1850 this country was agitated from its centre to its circumference about this slavery question. It became necessary for the leaders of the great Whig party and the leaders of the great Democratic party to postpone, for the time being, their particular disputes, and unite first to save the Union before they should quarrel as to the mode in which it was to be governed. During the Congress of 1849-'50, Henry Clay was the leader of the Union men, supported by Cass and Webster, and the leaders of the Democracy and the leaders of the Whigs, in opposition to Northern Abolitionists or Southern Disunionists.

That great contest of 1850 resulted in the establishment of the Compromise measures of that year, which measures rested on the great principles that the people of each state and each Territory of this Union ought to be permitted to regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject to no other limitation than that which the Federal Constitution imposes.

I now wish to ask you whether that principle was right or wrong which guaranteed to every state and every community the right to form and regulate their domestic institutions to suit themselves. These measures were adopted, as I have previously said, by the joint action of the Union Whigs and Union Democrats in opposition to Northern Abolitionists and Southern Disunionists. In 1858, when the Whig party assembled, at Baltimore, in National Convention for the last time, they adopted the principle of the Compromise measures of 1850 as their rule of party action in the future. One month thereafter the Democrats assembled at the same place to nominate a candidate for the presidency, and declared the same great principle as the rule of action by which the Democracy would be governed. The Presidential election of 1852 was fought on that basis. It is true that the Whigs claimed special merit for the adoption of those measures, because they asserted that their great Clay originated them, their godlike Webster defended them, and their Fillmore signed the bill making them the law of the land; but, on the other hand, the Democrats claimed special credit for the Democracy, upon the ground that we gave twice as many votes in both houses of Congress for the passage of these measures as the Whig party.

Thus you see that in the Presidential election of 1852 the Whigs were pledged by their platform and their candidate to the principle of the Compromise measures of 1850, and the Democracy were likewise pledged by our principles, our platform, and our candidate to the same line of policy, to preserve peace and quiet between the different sections of this Union. Since that period the Whig party has been transformed into a sectional party, under the name of the Republican party, whilst the Democratic party continues the same national party it was at that day. All sectional men, all men of Abolition sentiments and principles, no matter whether they were old Abolitionists or had been Whigs or Demo-

crats, rally under the sectional Republican banner, and consequently all national men, all Union-loving men, whether Whigs, Democrats, or by whatever name they have been known, ought to rally under the Stars and Stripes in defence of the Constitution as our fathers made it, and of the Union as it has existed under the Constitution.

How has this departure from the faith of the Democracy and the faith of the Whig party been accomplished? In 1854, certain restless, ambitious, and disappointed politicians throughout the land took advantage of the temporary excitement created by the Nebraska Bill to try and dissolve the old Whig party and the old Democratic party, to Abolitionize their members, and lead them, bound hand and foot, captives into the Abolition camp. In the state of New York a convention was held by some of these men, and a platform adopted, every plank of which was as black as night, each one relating to the Negro, and not one referring to the interests of the white man. That example was followed throughout the Northern states, the effort being made to combine all the free states in hostile array against the slave states. The men who thus thought that they could build up a great sectional party, and through its organization control the political destinies of this country, based all their hopes on the single fact that the North was the stronger division of the nation, and hence, if the North could be combined against the South, a sure victory awaited their efforts. I am doing no more than justice to the truth of history when I say that in this state, Abraham Lincoln, on behalf of the Whigs, and Lyman Trumbull, on behalf of the Democrats, were the leaders who undertook to perform this grand scheme of Abolitionizing the two parties to which they belonged. They had a private arrangement as to what should be the political destiny of each of the contracting parties before they went into the operation. The arrangement was that Mr. Lincoln was to take the old-line Whigs with him, claiming that he was still as good a Whig as ever, over to the Abolitionists, and Mr. Trumbull was to run for Congress in the Belleville District, and, claiming to be a good Democrat, coax the old Democrats into the Abolition camp; and when, by the joint efforts of the Abolitionized Whigs, the Abolitionized Democrats, and the old-line Abolition and Free-soil party of this state, they should secure a

majority in the Legislature, Lincoln was then to be made United States Senator in Shields's place, Trumbull remaining in Congress until I should be accommodating enough to die or resign, and give him a chance to follow Lincoln. That was a very nice little bargain so far as Lincoln and Trumbull were concerned, if it had been carried out in good faith and friend Lincoln had attained to senatorial dignity according to the contract. They went into the contest in every part of the state, calling upon all disappointed politicians to join in the crusade against the Democracy, and appealed to the prevailing sentiments and prejudices in all the northern counties of the state. In three Congressional districts in the north end of the state they adopted, as the platform of this new party thus formed by Lincoln and Trumbull in connection with the Abolitionists, all of those principles which aimed at a warfare on the part of the North against the South. They declared in that platform that the Wilmot Proviso was to be applied to all the Territories of the United States, north as well as south of 36 deg. 30 min., and not only to all the territory we then had, but all that we might hereafter acquire; that hereafter no more slave states should be admitted into this Union, even if the people of such state desired slavery; that the Fugitive Slave law should be absolutely and unconditionally repealed; that slavery should be abolished in the District of Columbia; that the slave trade should be abolished between the different states; and, in fact, every article in their creed related to this slavery question, and pointed to a Northern geographical party in hostility to the Southern states of this Union. Such were their principles in northern Illinois. A little farther south they became bleached, and grew paler just in proportion as public sentiment moderated and changed in this direction. They were Republicans or Abolitionists in the north, anti-Nebraska men down about Springfield, and in this neighborhood they contented themselves with talking about the inexpediency of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. In the extreme northern counties they brought out men to canvass the state whose complexion suited their political creed; and hence Fred Douglass, the Negro, was to be found there, following General Cass, and attempting to speak on behalf of Lincoln, Trumbull, and Abolitionism, against that illustrious senator. Why, they brought Fred Douglass to Freeport, when I was ad-

dressing a meeting there, in a carriage driven by the white owner, the Negro sitting inside with the white lady and her daughter. When I got through canvassing the northern counties that year, and progressed as far south as Springfield, I was met and opposed in discussion by Lincoln, Lovejoy, Trumbull, and Sidney Breese, who were on one side. Father Giddings, the high-priest of Abolitionism, had just been there, and Chase came about the time I left. [“ Why didn’t you shoot him? ”] I did take a running shot at them; but as I was singlehanded against the white, black, and mixed drove, I had to use a shotgun and fire into the crowd, instead of taking them off singly with a rifle. Trumbull had for his lieutenants, in aiding him to Abolitionize the Democracy, such men as John Wentworth of Chicago, Governor Reynolds of Belleville, Sidney Breese of Carlisle, and John Dougherty of Union, each of whom modified his opinions to suit the locality he was in. Dougherty, for instance, would not go much further than to talk about the inexpediency of the Nebraska Bill, whilst his allies at Chicago advocated Negro citizenship and Negro equality, putting the white man and the Negro on the same basis under the law. Now, these men, four years ago, were engaged in a conspiracy to break down the Democracy; today they are again acting together for the same purpose! They do not hoist the same flag, they do not own the same principles or profess the same faith, but conceal their union for the sake of policy. In the northern counties, you find that all the conventions are called in the name of the Black Republican party; at Springfield, they dare not call a Republican convention, but invite all the enemies of the Democracy to unite; and when they get down into Egypt [southern Illinois], Trumbull issues notices calling upon the “ Free Democracy ” to assemble and hear him speak. I have one of the handbills calling a Trumbull meeting at Waterloo the other day, which I received there, which is in the following language:

A meeting of the Free Democracy will take place in Waterloo, on Monday, Sept. 13th inst., whereat Hon. Lyman Trumbull, Hon. John Baker and others will address the people upon the different political topics of the day. Members of all parties are cordially invited to be present, and hear and determine for themselves.

THE MONROE FREE DEMOCRACY

What is the name of "Free Democrats" put forth for, unless to deceive the people, and make them believe that Trumbull and his followers are not the same party as that which raises the black flag of Abolitionism in the northern part of this state and makes war upon the Democratic party throughout the state? When I put that question to them at Waterloo on Saturday last, one of them rose and stated that they had changed their name for political effect, in order to get votes. There was a candid admission. Their object in changing their party organization and principles in different localities was avowed to be an attempt to cheat and deceive some portion of the people until after the election. Why cannot a political party that is conscious of the rectitude of its purposes and the soundness of its principles declare them everywhere alike? I would disdain to hold any political principles that I could not avow in the same terms in Kentucky that I declared in Illinois, in Charleston as well as in Chicago, in New Orleans as well as in New York. So long as we live under a Constitution common to all the states, our political faith ought to be as broad, as liberal, and just as that Constitution itself, and should be proclaimed alike in every portion of the Union.

But it is apparent that our opponents find it necessary, for partisan effect, to change their colors in different counties in order to catch the popular breeze, and hope with these discordant materials combined together to secure a majority in the Legislature for the purpose of putting down the Democratic party. This combination did succeed in 1854 so far as to elect a majority of their confederates to the Legislature, and the first important act which they performed was to elect a senator in the place of the eminent and gallant Senator Shields. His term expired in the United States Senate at that time, and he had to be crushed by the Abolition coalition for the simple reason that he would not join in their conspiracy to wage war against one half of the Union. That was the only objection to General Shields. He had served the people of his state with ability in the Legislature, he had served you with fidelity and ability as Auditor, he had performed his duties to the satisfaction of the whole country at the head of the Land Department at Washington, he had covered the state and the Union with immortal glory on the bloody fields of Mexico in defence of the

honor of our flag, and yet he had to be stricken down by this unholy combination. And for what cause? Merely because he would not join a combination of one half of the states to make war upon the other half, after having poured out his heart's blood for all the states of the Union. Trumbull was put in his place by Abolitionism. How did Trumbull get there? Before the Abolitionists would consent to go into an election for United States senator they required all the members of this new combination to show their hands upon this question of Abolitionism. Lovejoy, one of their high-priests, brought in resolutions defining the Abolition creed, and required them to commit themselves on it by their votes, — yea or nay. In that creed, as laid down by Lovejoy, they declared, first, that the Wilmot Proviso must be put on all the Territories of the United States, north as well as south of 36 deg. 30 min., and that no more territory should ever be acquired unless slavery was at first prohibited therein; second, that no more states should ever be received into the Union unless slavery was first prohibited, by constitutional provision, in such states; third, that the Fugitive Slave law must be immediately repealed, or, failing in that, then such amendments were to be made to it as would render it useless and inefficient for the objects for which it was passed, etc. The next day after these resolutions were offered they were voted upon, part of them carried, and the others defeated, the same men who voted for them, with only two exceptions, voting soon after for Abraham Lincoln as their candidate for the United States Senate. He came within one or two votes of being elected, but he could not quite get the number required, for the simple reason that his friend Trumbull, who was a party to the bargain by which Lincoln was to take Shields's place, controlled a few Abolitionized Democrats in the Legislature, and would not allow them all to vote for him, thus wronging Lincoln by permitting him on each ballot to be almost elected, but not quite, until he forced them to drop Lincoln and elect him (Trumbull), in order to unite the party. Thus you find that although the Legislature was carried that year by the bargain between Trumbull, Lincoln, and the Abolitionists, and the union of these discordant elements in one harmonious party, yet Trumbull violated his pledge, and played a Yankee trick on Lincoln when they came to divide the spoils. . . .

But I wish to invite your attention to the chief points at issue between Mr. Lincoln and myself in this discussion. Mr. Lincoln, knowing that he was to be the candidate of his party, on account of the arrangement of which I have already spoken, knowing that he was to receive the nomination of the Convention for the United States Senate, had his speech, accepting that nomination, all written and committed to memory ready to be delivered the moment the nomination was announced. Accordingly, when it was made, he was in readiness, and delivered his speech, a portion of which I will read in order that I may state his political principles fairly, by repeating them in his own language:

We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was instituted for the avowed object, and with the confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation; under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. I believe it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the states, North as well as South.

There you have Mr. Lincoln's first and main proposition, upon which he bases his claims, stated in his own language. He tells you that this Republic cannot endure permanently divided into slave and free states, as our fathers made it. He says that they must all become free or all become slave, that they must all be one thing or all be the other, or this government cannot last. Why can it not last, if we will execute the government in the same spirit and upon the same principles upon which it is founded? Lincoln, by his proposition, says to the South: "If you desire to maintain your institutions as they are now, you must not be satisfied with minding your own business, but you must invade Illinois and all the other Northern states, establish slavery in them, and make it universal"; and in the same language he says to the North: "You

must not be content with regulating your own affairs and minding your own business, but if you desire to maintain your freedom, you must invade the Southern states, abolish slavery there and everywhere, in order to have the states all one thing or all the other." I say that this is the inevitable and irresistible result of Mr. Lincoln's argument, inviting a warfare between the North and the South, to be carried on with ruthless vengeance until the one section or the other shall be driven to the wall, and become the victim of the rapacity of the other. What good would follow such a system of warfare? Suppose the North should succeed in conquering the South, how much would she be the gainer? or suppose the South should conquer the North, could the Union be preserved in that way? Is this sectional warfare to be waged between the Northern states and Southern states until they all shall become uniform in their local and domestic institutions, merely because Mr. Lincoln says that a house divided against itself cannot stand, and pretends that this Scriptural quotation, this language of our Lord and Master, is applicable to the American Union and the American Constitution? Washington and his compeers, in the convention that framed the Constitution, made this government divided into free and slave states. It was composed then of thirteen sovereign and independent states, each having sovereign authority over its local and domestic institutions, and all bound together by the Federal Constitution. Mr. Lincoln likens that bond of the Federal Constitution, joining free and slave states together, to a house divided against itself, and says that it is contrary to the law of God, and cannot stand. When did he learn, and by what authority does he proclaim, that this government is contrary to the law of God and cannot stand? It has stood thus divided into free and slave states from its organization up to this day. During that period we have increased from four millions to thirty millions of people; we have extended our territory from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean; we have acquired the Floridas and Texas, and other territory sufficient to double our geographical extent; we have increased in population, in wealth, and in power beyond any example on earth; we have risen from a weak and feeble power to become the terror and admiration of the civilized world; and all this has been done under a Constitution which Mr. Lincoln, in substance, says is in

violation of the law of God, and under a Union divided into free and slave states, which Mr. Lincoln thinks, because of such division, cannot stand. Surely Mr. Lincoln is a wiser man than those who framed the government. Washington did not believe, nor did his compatriots, that the local laws and domestic institutions that were well adapted to the Green Mountains of Vermont were suited to the rice plantations of South Carolina; they did not believe at that day that in a republic so broad and expanded as this, containing such a variety of climate, soil, and interest, that uniformity in the local laws and domestic institutions was either desirable or possible. They believed then, as our experience has proved to us now, that each locality, having different interests, a different climate, and different surroundings, required different local laws, local policy, and local institutions, adapted to the wants of that locality. Thus our government was formed on the principle of diversity in the local institutions and laws, and not on that of uniformity.

As my time flies, I can only glance at these points, and not present them as fully as I would wish, because I desire to bring all the points in controversy between the two parties before you, in order to have Mr. Lincoln's reply. He makes war on the decision of the Supreme Court in the case known as the Dred Scott case. I wish to say to you, fellow-citizens, that I have no war to make on that decision, or any other ever rendered by the Supreme Court. I am content to take that decision as it stands delivered by the highest judicial tribunal on earth, — a tribunal established by the Constitution of the United States for that purpose; and hence that decision becomes the law of the land, binding on you, on me, and on every other good citizen, whether we like it or not. Hence I do not choose to go into an argument to prove before this audience whether or not Chief Justice Taney understood the law better than Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. Lincoln objects to that decision, first and mainly, because it deprives the Negro of the rights of citizenship. I am as much opposed to his reason for that objection as I am to the objection itself. I hold that a Negro is not and never ought to be a citizen of the United States. I hold that this government was made on the white basis, by white men, for the benefit of white men and their

posterity forever, and should be administered by white men and none others. I do not believe that the Almighty made the Negro capable of self-government. I am aware that all the Abolition lecturers that you find travelling about through the country are in the habit of reading the Declaration of Independence to prove that all men were created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Mr. Lincoln is very much in the habit of following in the track of Lovejoy in this particular, by reading that part of the Declaration of Independence to prove that the Negro was endowed by the Almighty with the inalienable right of equality with white men. Now, I say to you, my fellow citizens, that in my opinion the signers of the Declaration had no reference to the Negro whatever when they declared all men to be created equal. They desired to express by that phrase white men, men of European birth and European descent, and had no reference either to the Negro, the savage Indians, the Fejee, the Malay, or any other inferior and degraded race, when they spoke of the equality of men. One great evidence that such was their understanding is to be found in the fact that at that time every one of the thirteen colonies was a slaveholding colony, every signer of the Declaration represented a slaveholding constituency, and we know that not one of them emancipated his slaves, much less offered citizenship to them, when they signed the Declaration; and yet, if they intended to declare that the Negro was the equal of the white man, and entitled by divine right to an equality with him, they were bound, as honest men, that day and hour to have put their Negroes on an equality with themselves. Instead of doing so, with uplifted eyes to heaven they implored the divine blessing upon them, during the seven years' bloody war they had to fight to maintain that Declaration, never dreaming that they were violating divine law by still holding the Negroes in bondage and depriving them of equality.

My friends, I am in favor of preserving this government as our fathers made it. It does not follow by any means that because a Negro is not your equal or mine, that hence he must necessarily be a slave. On the contrary, it does follow that we ought to extend to the Negro every right, every privilege, every immunity, which

he is capable of enjoying, consistent with the good of society. When you ask me what these rights are, what their nature and extent is, I tell you that that is a question which each state of this Union must decide for itself. Illinois has already decided the question. We have decided that the Negro must not be a slave within our limits; but we have also decided that the Negro shall not be citizen within our limits; that he shall not vote, hold office, or exercise any political rights. I maintain that Illinois, as a sovereign state, has a right thus to fix her policy with reference to the relation between the white man and the Negro; but while we had that right to decide the question for ourselves, we must recognize the same right in Kentucky and in every other state to make the same decision, or a different one. Having decided our own policy with reference to the black race, we must leave Kentucky and Missouri and every other state perfectly free to make just such a decision as they see proper on that question.

Kentucky has decided that question for herself. She has said that within her limits a Negro shall not exercise any political rights, and she also said that a portion of the Negroes under the laws of that state shall be slaves. She had as much right to adopt that as her policy as we had to adopt the contrary for our policy. New York has decided that in that state a Negro may vote if he has \$250 worth of property, and if he owns that much he may vote upon an equality with the white man. I, for one, am utterly opposed to Negro suffrage anywhere and under any circumstances; yet, inasmuch as the Supreme Court have decided in the celebrated Dred Scott case that a state has a right to confer the privilege of voting upon free Negroes, I am not going to make war upon New York because she has adopted a policy repugnant to my feelings. But New York must mind her own business, and keep her Negro suffrage to herself, and not attempt to force it upon us.

In the state of Maine they have decided that a Negro may vote and hold office on an equality with a white man. I had occasion to say to the senators from Maine, in a discussion, last session, that if they thought that the white people within the limits of their state were no better than Negroes, I would not quarrel with them for it, but they must not say that my white constituents of Illinois were no better than Negroes, or we would be sure to quarrel.

The Dred Scott decision covers the whole question, and declares that each state has the right to settle this question of suffrage for itself, and all questions as to the relations between the white man and the Negro. Judge Taney expressly lays down the doctrine. I receive it as law, and I say that while those states are adopting regulations on that subject disgusting and abhorrent, according to my views, I will not make war on them if they will mind their own business and let us alone.

I now come back to the question, Why cannot this Union exist forever, divided into free and slave states, as our fathers made it? It can thus exist if each state will carry out the principles upon which our institutions were founded; to wit, the right of each state to do as it pleases, without meddling with its neighbors. Just act upon that great principle, and this Union will not only live forever, but it will extend and expand until it covers the whole continent, and makes this confederacy one grand ocean-bound Republic. We must bear in mind that we are yet a young nation, growing with a rapidity unequalled in the history of the world, that our natural increase is great, and that the emigration from the Old World is increasing, requiring us to expand and acquire new territory from time to time, in order to give our people land to live upon. If we live upon the principle of state rights and state sovereignty, each state regulating its own affairs and minding its own business, we can go on and extend indefinitely, just as fast and as far as we need the territory. The time may come, indeed has now come, when our interests would be advanced by the acquisition of the island of Cuba. When we get Cuba we must take it as we find it, leaving the people to decide the question of slavery for themselves, without interference on the part of the Federal Government or of any state of this Union. So, when it becomes necessary to acquire any portion of Mexico or Canada, or of this continent or the adjoining islands, we must take them as we find them, leaving the people free to do as they please, — to have slavery or not, as they choose. I never have inquired and never will inquire whether a new state applying for admission has slavery or not for one of her institutions. If the constitution that is presented be the act and deed of the people, and embodies their will, and they have the requisite population, I will admit them, with slavery or without

it, just as that people shall determine. My objection to the Lecompton Constitution did not consist in the fact that it made Kansas a slave state. I would have been as much opposed to its admission under such a constitution as a free state as I was opposed to its admission under it as a slave state. I hold that that was a question which the people had a right to decide for themselves, and that no power on earth ought to have interfered with that decision. In my opinion, the Lecompton Constitution was not the act and deed of the people of Kansas, and did not embody their will; and the recent election in that Territory, at which it was voted down by nearly ten to one, shows conclusively that I was right in saying, when the Constitution was presented, that it was not the act and deed of the people, and did not embody their will.

If we wish to preserve our institutions in their purity, and transmit them unimpaired to our latest posterity, we must preserve with religious good faith that great principle of self-government which guarantees to each and every state, old and new, the right to make just such constitutions as they desire, and come into the Union with their own constitution, and not one palmed upon them. Whenever you sanction the doctrine that Congress may crowd a constitution down the throats of an unwilling people, against their consent, you will subvert the great fundamental principle upon which all our free institutions rest. In the future I have no fear that the attempt will ever be made. President Buchanan declared in his annual message that hereafter the rule adopted in the Minnesota case, requiring a constitution to be submitted to the people, should be followed in all future cases; and if he stands by that recommendation, there will be no division in the Democratic party on that principle in the future. Hence, the great mission of the Democracy is to unite the fraternal feeling of the whole country, restore peace and quiet, by teaching each state to mind its own business, and regulate its own domestic affairs, and all to unite in carrying out the Constitution as our fathers made it, and thus to preserve the Union and render it perpetual in all time to come. Why should we not act as our fathers who made the government? There was no sectional strife in Washington's army. They were all brethren of a common confederacy; they fought under a common flag that they might bestow upon their posterity a common

destiny; and to this end they poured out their blood in common streams, and shared, in some instances, a common grave.

Mr. Lincoln's Reply

Ladies and Gentlemen: There is very much in the principles that Judge Douglas has here enunciated that I most cordially approve, and over which I shall have no controversy with him. In so far as he has insisted that all the states have the right to do exactly as they please about all their domestic relations, including that of slavery, I agree entirely with him. He places me wrong in spite of all I can tell him, though I repeat it again and again, insisting that I have no difference with him upon this subject. I have made a great many speeches, some of which have been printed, and it will be utterly impossible for him to find anything that I have ever put in print contrary to what I now say upon this subject. I hold myself under constitutional obligations to allow the people in all the states, without interference, direct or indirect, to do exactly as they please; and I deny that I have any inclination to interfere with them, even if there were no such constitutional obligation. I can only say again that I am placed improperly — altogether improperly, in spite of all I can say — when it is insisted that I entertain any other view or purposes in regard to that matter.

While I am upon this subject, I will make some answers briefly to certain propositions that Judge Douglas has put. He says, "Why can't this Union endure permanently half slave and half free?" I have said that I supposed it could not, and I will try, before this new audience, to give briefly some of the reasons for entertaining that opinion. Another form of his question is, "Why can't we let it stand as our fathers placed it?" That is the exact difficulty between us. I say that Judge Douglas and his friends have changed it from the position in which our fathers originally placed it. I say, in the way our fathers originally left the slavery question, the institution was in the course of ultimate extinction, and the public mind rested in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. I say when this government was first established it was the policy of its founders to prohibit the spread of slavery into the new Territories of the United States, where it had not existed. But

Judge Douglas and his friends have broken up that policy, and placed it upon a new basis, by which it is to become national and perpetual. All I have asked or desired anywhere is that it should be placed back again upon the basis that the fathers of our government originally placed it upon. I have no doubt that it *would* become extinct, for all time to come, if we but readopted the policy of the fathers, by restricting it to the limits it has already covered, — restricting it from the new Territories.

I do not wish to dwell at great length on this branch of the subject at this time, but allow me to repeat one thing that I have stated before. Brooks — the man who assaulted Senator Sumner on the floor of the Senate, and who was complimented with dinners, and silver pitchers, and gold-headed canes, and a good many other things for that feat — in one of his speeches declared that when this government was originally established, nobody expected that the institution of slavery would last until this day. That was but the opinion of one man, but it was such an opinion as we can never get from Judge Douglas or anybody in favor of slavery, in the North, at all. You can sometimes get it from a Southern man. He said at the same time that the framers of our government did not have the knowledge that experience has taught us; that experience and the invention of the cotton-gin have taught us that the perpetuation of slavery is a necessity. He insisted, therefore, upon its being changed from the basis upon which the fathers of the government left it to the basis of its perpetuation of nationalization.

I insist that this is the difference between Judge Douglas and myself, — that Judge Douglas is helping that change along. I insist upon this government being placed where our fathers originally placed it.

I remember Judge Douglas once said that he saw the evidences on the statute books of Congress of a policy in the origin of government to divide slavery and freedom by a geographical line; that he saw an indisposition to maintain that policy, and therefore he set about studying up a way to settle the institution on the right basis, — the basis which he thought it ought to have been placed upon at first; and in that speech he confesses that he seeks to place it, not upon the basis that the fathers placed it upon, but upon

one gotten up on "original principles." When he asks me why we cannot get along with it in the attitude where our fathers placed it, he had better clear up the evidences that he has himself changed it from that basis, that he has himself been chiefly instrumental in changing the policy of the fathers. Anyone who will read his speech of the 22d of last March will see that he there makes an open confession, showing that he set about fixing the institution upon an altogether different set of principles. I think I have fully answered him when he asks me why we cannot let it alone upon the basis where our fathers left it, by showing that he has himself changed the whole policy of the government in that regard.

Now, fellow citizens, in regard to this matter about a contract that was made between Judge Trumbull and myself, and all that long portion of Judge Douglas's speech on this subject, — I wish simply to say what I have said to him before, that he cannot know whether it is true or not, and I *do know* that there is not a word of truth in it. And I have told him so before. I don't want any harsh language indulged in, but I do not know how to deal with this persistent insisting on a story that I know to be utterly without truth. It used to be a fashion amongst men that when a charge was made, some sort of proof was brought forward to establish it, and if no proof was found to exist, the charge was dropped. I don't know how to meet this kind of an argument. I don't want to have a fight with Judge Douglas, and I have no way of making an argument up into the consistency of a corn-cob and stopping his mouth with it. All I can do is, good-humoredly to say that, from the beginning to the end of all that story about a bargain between Judge Trumbull and myself, *there is not a word of truth in it*. I can only ask him to show some sort of evidence of the truth of his story. He brings forward here and reads from what he contends is a speech by James H. Matheny, charging such a bargain between Trumbull and myself. My own opinion is that Matheny did do some such immoral thing as to tell a story that he knew nothing about. I believe he did. I contradicted it instantly, and it has been contradicted by Judge Trumbull, while nobody has produced any proof, because there is none. Now, whether the speech which the Judge brings forward here is really the one Matheny made, I do not

know, and I hope the Judge will pardon me for doubting the genuineness of this document, since his production of those Springfield resolutions at Ottawa. I do not wish to dwell at any great length upon this matter. I can say nothing when a long story like this is told, except it is not true, and demand that he who insists upon it shall produce some proof. That is all any man can do, and I leave it in that way, for I know of no other way of dealing with it.

The Judge has gone over a long account of the old Whig and Democratic parties, and it connects itself with this charge against Trumbull and myself. He says that they agreed upon a compromise in regard to the slavery question in 1850; that in a National Democratic Convention resolutions were passed to abide by that compromise as a finality upon the slavery question. He also says that the Whig party in National Convention agreed to abide by and regard as a finality the Compromise of 1850. I understand the Judge to be altogether right about that; I understand that part of the history of the country as stated by him to be correct. I recollect that I, as a member of that party, acquiesced in that compromise. I recollect in the Presidential election which followed, when we had General Scott up for the presidency, Judge Douglas was around berating us Whigs as Abolitionists, precisely as he does to-day, — not a bit of difference. I have often heard him. We could do nothing when the old Whig party was alive that was not Abolitionism, but it has got an extremely good name since it has passed away.

When that Compromise was made it did not repeal the old Missouri Compromise. It left a region of United States territory half as large as the present territory of the United States, north of the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes, in which slavery was prohibited by act of Congress. This Compromise did not repeal that one. It did not affect or propose to repeal it. But at last it became Judge Douglas's duty, as he thought (and I find no fault with him), as Chairman of the Committee on Territories, to bring in a bill for the organization of a territorial government, — first of one, then of two Territories north of that line. When he did so, it ended in his inserting a provision substantially repealing the Missouri Compromise. That was because the Compromise of 1850 *had not* repealed it. And now I ask why he could not have let that Compromise alone? We were quiet from the agitation of the slavery ques-

tion. We were making no fuss about it. All had acquiesced in the Compromise measures of 1850. We never had been seriously disturbed by any Abolition agitation before that period. When he came to form governments for the Territories north of the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes, why could he not have let that matter stand as it was standing? Was it necessary to the organization of a Territory? Not at all. Iowa lay north of the line, and had been organized as a Territory and come into the Union as a state without disturbing that Compromise. There was no sort of necessity for destroying it to organize these Territories. But, gentlemen, it would take up all my time to meet all the little quibbling arguments of Judge Douglas to show that the Missouri Compromise was repealed by the Compromise of 1850. My own opinion is that a careful investigation of all the arguments to sustain the position that that Compromise was virtually repealed by the Compromise of 1850 would show that they are the merest fallacies. I have the report that Judge Douglas first brought into Congress at the time of the introduction of the Nebraska Bill, which in its original form *did not* repeal the Missouri Compromise, and he there expressly stated that he had forbore to do so *because it had not been done by the Compromise of 1850*. I close this part of the discussion on my part by asking him the question again, "Why, when we had peace under the Missouri Compromise, could you not have let it alone?"

In complaining of what I said in my speech at Springfield, in which he says I accepted my nomination for the senatorship (where, by the way, he is at fault, for if he will examine it, he will find no acceptance in it), he again quotes that portion in which I said that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." Let me say a word in regard to that matter.

He tries to persuade us that there must be a variety in the different institutions of the states of the Union; that that variety necessarily proceeds from the variety of soil, climate, of the face of the country, and the difference in the natural features of the states. I agree to all that. Have these very matters ever produced any difficulty amongst us? Not at all. Have we ever had any quarrel over the fact that they have laws in Louisiana designed to regulate the commerce that springs from the production of sugar? Or

because we have a different class relative to the production of flour in this state? Have they produced any differences? Not at all. They are the very cements of this Union. They don't make the house a house divided against itself. They are the props that hold up the house and sustain the Union.

But has it been so with this element of slavery? Have we not always had quarrels and difficulties over it? And when will we cease to have quarrels over it? Like causes produce like effects. It is worth while to observe that we have generally had comparative peace upon the slavery question, and that there has been no cause for alarm until it was excited by the effort to spread it into new territory. Whenever it has been limited to its present bounds, and there has been no effort to spread it, there has been peace. All the trouble and convulsion has proceeded from efforts to spread it over more territory. It was thus at the date of the Missouri Compromise. It was so again with the annexation of Texas; so with the territory acquired by the Mexican war; and it is so now. Whenever there has been an effort to spread it, there has been agitation and resistance. Now, I appeal to this audience (very few of whom are my political friends), as national men, whether we have reason to expect that the agitation in regard to this subject will cease while the causes that tend to reproduce agitation are actively at work? Will not the same cause that produced agitation in 1820, when the Missouri Compromise was formed, that which produced the agitation upon the annexation of Texas, and at other times, work out the same results always? Do you think that the nature of man will be changed, that the same causes that produced agitation at one time will not have the same effect at another?

This has been the result so far as my observation of the slavery question and my reading in history extends. What right have we then to hope that the trouble will cease, — that the agitation will come to an end, — until it shall either be placed back where it originally stood, and where the fathers originally placed it, or, on the other hand, until it shall entirely master all opposition? This is the view I entertain, and this is the reason why I entertained it, as Judge Douglas has read from my Springfield speech.

Now, my friends, there is one other thing that I feel myself under some sort of obligation to mention. Judge Douglas has here

today — in a very rambling way, I was about saying — spoken of the platform for which he seeks to hold me responsible. He says, “Why can’t you come out and make an open avowal of principles in all places alike?” and he reads from an advertisement that he says was used to notify the people of a speech to be made by Judge Trumbull at Waterloo. In commenting on it he desires to know whether we cannot speak frankly and manfully, as he and his friends do. How, I ask, do his friends speak out their own sentiments? A Convention of his party in this state met on the 21st of April at Springfield, and passed a set of resolutions which they proclaim to the country as their platform. This does constitute their platform, and it is because Judge Douglas claims it is his platform — that these are his principles and purposes — that he has a right to declare he speaks his sentiments “frankly and manfully.” On the 9th of June Colonel John Dougherty, Governor Reynolds, and others, calling themselves National Democrats, met in Springfield and adopted a set of resolutions which are as easily understood, as plain and as definite in stating to the country and to the world what they believed in and would stand upon, as Judge Douglas’s platform. Now, what is the reason that Judge Douglas is not willing that Colonel Dougherty and Governor Reynolds should stand upon their own written and printed platform as well as he upon his? Why must he look farther than their platform when he claims himself to stand by his platform?

Again, in reference to our platform: On the 16th of June the Republicans had their Convention and published their platform, which is as clear and distinct as Judge Douglas’s. In it they spoke their principles as plainly and as definitely to the world. What is the reason that Judge Douglas is not willing I should stand upon that platform? Why must he go around hunting for someone who is supporting me or has supported me at some time in his life, and who has said something at some time contrary to that platform? Does the Judge regard that rule as a good one? If it turn out that the rule is a good one for me — that I am responsible for any and every opinion that any man has expressed who is my friend, — then it is a good rule for him. I ask, is it not as good a rule for him as it is for me? In my opinion, it is not a good rule for either of us. Do you think differently, Judge?

Judge DOUGLAS: I do not.

Mr. LINCOLN: Judge Douglas says he does not think differently. I am glad of it. Then can he tell me why he is looking up resolutions of five or six years ago, and insisting that they were my platform, notwithstanding my protest that they are not, and never were my platform, and my pointing out the platform of the State Convention which he delights to say nominated me for the Senate? I cannot see what he means by parading these resolutions, if it is not to hold me responsible for them in some way. If he says to me here that he does not hold the rule to be good, one way or the other, I do not comprehend how he could answer me more fully if he answered me at greater length. I will therefore put in as my answer to the resolutions that he has hunted up against me, what I, as a lawyer, would call a good plea to a bad declaration. I understand that it is a maxim of law that a poor plea may be a good plea to a bad declaration. I think that the opinions the Judge brings from those who support me, yet differ from me, is a bad declaration against me; but if I can bring the same things against him, I am putting in a good plea to that kind of declaration, and now I propose to try it.

At Freeport, Judge Douglas occupied a large part of his time in producing resolutions and documents of various sorts, as I understood, to make me somehow responsible for them; and I propose now doing a little of the same sort of thing for him. In 1850 a very clever gentleman by the name of Thompson Campbell, a personal friend of Judge Douglas and myself, a political friend of Judge Douglas and opponent of mine, was a candidate for Congress in the Galena District. He was interrogated as to his views on this same slavery question. I have here before me the interrogatories, and Campbell's answers to them. I will read them:

INTERROGATORIES

1st. Will you, if elected, vote for and cordially support a bill prohibiting slavery in the Territories of the United States?

2d. Will you vote for and support a bill abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia?

3d. Will you oppose the admission of any slave states which may be formed out of Texas or the Territories?

4th. Will you vote for and advocate the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law passed at the recent session of Congress?

5th. Will you advocate and vote for the election of a Speaker of the House of Representatives who shall be willing to organize the committees of that House so as to give the free states their just influence in the business of legislation?

6th. What are your views, not only as to the constitutional right of Congress to prohibit the slave trade between the states, but also as to the expediency of exercising that right immediately?

CAMPBELL'S REPLY

To the first and second interrogatories, I answer unequivocally in the affirmative.

To the third interrogatory I reply, that I am opposed to the admission of any more slave states into the Union, that may be formed out of Texas or any other Territory.

To the fourth and fifth interrogatories I unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative.

To the sixth interrogatory I reply, that so long as the slave states continue to treat slaves as articles of commerce, the Constitution confers power on Congress to pass laws regulating that peculiar **COMMERCE**, and that the protection of human rights imperatively demands the interposition of every constitutional means to prevent this most inhuman and iniquitous traffic.

T. CAMPBELL

I want to say here that Thompson Campbell was elected to Congress on that platform, as the Democratic candidate in the Galena District, against Martin P. Sweet.

Judge DOUGLAS: Give me the date of the letter.

Mr. LINCOLN: The time Campbell ran was in 1850. I have not the exact date here. It was some time in 1850 that these interrogatories were put and the answer given. Campbell was elected to Congress, and served out his term. I think a second election came up before he served out his term, and he was not re-elected. Whether defeated or not nominated, I do not know. [Mr. Campbell was nominated for re-election by the Democratic party, by acclamation.] At the end of his term his very good friend Judge Douglas got him a high office from President Pierce, and sent him off to California. Is not that the fact? Just at the end of his term

in Congress it appears that our mutual friend Judge Douglas got our mutual friend Campbell a good office, and sent him to California upon it. And not only so, but on the 27th of last month, when Judge Douglas and myself spoke at Freeport in joint discussion, there was his same friend Campbell, come all the way from California, to help the Judge beat me; and there was poor Martin P. Sweet standing on the platform, trying to help poor me to be elected. That is true of one of Judge Douglas's friends. . . .

On the 28th of February of the same year a Democratic District Convention was held at Naperville to nominate a candidate for Circuit Judge. . . . The following resolutions were unanimously adopted, — the first on motion of P. W. Platt, the second on motion of William M. Jackson:

Resolved, That this Convention is in favor of the Wilmot Proviso, both in *Principle* and *Practice*, and that we know of no good reason why any *person* should oppose the largest latitude in *Free Soil*, *Free Territory* and *Free Speech*.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the time has arrived when *all men should be free*, whites as well as others.

Judge DOUGLAS: What is the date of those resolutions?

Mr. LINCOLN: I understand it was in 1850, but I do not *know* it. I do not state a thing and say I know it, when I do not. But I have the highest belief that this is so. I know of no way to arrive at the conclusion that there is an error in it. I mean to put a case no stronger than the truth will allow. But what I was going to comment upon is an extract from a newspaper in De Kalb County; and it strikes me as being rather singular, I confess, under the circumstances. There is a Judge Mayo in that county, who is a candidate for the Legislature, for the purpose, if he secures his election, of helping to re-elect Judge Douglas. He is the editor of a newspaper [De Kalb County *Sentinel*], and in that paper I find the extract I am going to read. It is part of an editorial article in which he was electioneering as fiercely as he could for Judge Douglas and against me. It was a curious thing, I think, to be in such a paper. I will agree to that, and the Judge may make the most of it:

Our education has been such that we have been rather *in favor of the equality of the blacks; that is, that they should enjoy all the*

privileges of the whites where they reside. We are aware that this is not a very popular doctrine. We have had many a confab with some who are now strong "Republicans," we taking the broad ground of equality, and they the opposite ground.

We were brought up in a state where blacks were voters, and we do not know of any inconvenience resulting from it, though perhaps it would not work as well where the blacks are more numerous. We have no doubt of the right of the whites to guard against such an evil, if it is one. Our opinion is that it would be best for all concerned to have the colored population in a state by themselves [in this I agree with him]; but if within the jurisdiction of the United States, *we say by all means they should have the right to have their Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to vote for President.* With us "worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow." We have seen many a "nigger" that we thought more of than some white men.

That is one of Judge Douglas's friends. Now, I do not want to leave myself in an attitude where I can be misrepresented, so I will say I do not think the Judge is responsible for this article; but he is quite as responsible for it as I would be if one of my friends had said it. I think that is fair enough.

I have here also a set of resolutions passed by a Democratic State Convention in Judge Douglas's own good state of Vermont, that I think ought to be good for him too:

Resolved, That liberty is a right inherent and inalienable in man, and that herein *all men are equal.*

Resolved, That we claim no authority in the Federal Government to abolish slavery in the several states, but we do claim for it Constitutional power perpetually to prohibit the introduction of slavery into territory now free, and abolish it wherever, under the jurisdiction of Congress, it exists.

Resolved, That this power ought immediately to be exercised in prohibiting the introduction and existence of slavery in New Mexico and California, in abolishing slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, on the high seas, and wherever else, under the Constitution, it can be reached.

Resolved, That no more slave states should be admitted into the Federal Union.

Resolved, That the Government ought to return to its ancient

policy, not to extend, nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize, and discourage slavery.

At Freeport I answered several interrogatories that had been propounded to me by Judge Douglas at the Ottawa meeting. The Judge has not yet seen fit to find any fault with the position that I took in regard to those seven interrogatories, which were certainly broad enough, in all conscience, to cover the entire ground. In my answers, which have been printed, and all have had the opportunity of seeing, I take the ground that those who elect me must expect that I will do nothing which will not be in accordance with those answers. I have some right to assert that Judge Douglas has no fault to find with them. But he chooses to still try to thrust me upon different ground, without paying any attention to my answers, the obtaining of which from me cost him so much trouble and concern. At the same time I propounded four interrogatories to him, claiming it as a right that he should answer as many interrogatories for me as I did for him, and I would reserve myself for a future instalment when I got them ready. The Judge, in answering me upon that occasion, put in what I suppose he intends as answers to all four of my interrogatories. The first one of these interrogatories I have before me, and it is in these words:

QUESTION 1. If the people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in all other respects, adopt a state constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it, *before* they have the requisite number of inhabitants according to the English bill, — some ninety-three thousand, — will you vote to admit them?

As I read the Judge's answer in the newspaper, and as I remember it as pronounced at the time, he does not give any answer which is equivalent to yes or no, — I will or I won't. He answers at very considerable length, rather quarreling with me for asking the question, and insisting that Judge Trumbull had done something that I ought to say something about, and finally getting out such statements as induce me to infer that he means to be understood he will, in that supposed case, vote for the admission of Kansas. I only bring this forward now for the purpose of saying that if he chooses to put a different construction upon his answer, he may do it. But if he does not, I shall from this time forward

assume that he will vote for the admission of Kansas in disregard of the English bill. He has the right to remove any misunderstanding I may have. I only mention it now, that I may hereafter assume this to be the true construction of his answer, if he does not now choose to correct me.

The second interrogatory that I propounded to him was this:

QUESTION 2. Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?

To this Judge Douglas answered that they can lawfully exclude slavery from the Territory prior to the formation of a constitution. He goes on to tell us how it can be done. As I understand him, he holds that it can be done by the Territorial Legislature refusing to make any enactments for the protection of slavery in the Territory, and especially by adopting unfriendly legislation to it. For the sake of clearness, I state it again: that they can exclude slavery from the Territory, 1st, by withholding what he assumes to be an indispensable assistance to it in the way of legislation; and, 2d, by unfriendly legislation. If I rightly understand him, I wish to ask your attention for a while to his position.

In the first place, the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that any Congressional prohibition of slavery in the Territories is unconstitutional; that they have reached this proposition as a conclusion from their former proposition, that the Constitution of the United States expressly recognizes property in slaves, and from the other Constitutional provision, that no person shall be deprived of property without due process of law. Hence they reach the conclusion that as the Constitution of the United States expressly recognizes property in slaves, and prohibits any person from being deprived of property without due process of law, to pass an act of Congress by which a man who owned a slave on one side of a line would be deprived of him if he took him on the other side, is depriving him of that property without due process of law. That I understand to be the decision of the Supreme Court. I understand also that Judge Douglas adheres most firmly to that decision; and the difficulty is, how is it possible for

any power to exclude slavery from the Territory, unless in violation of that decision? That is the difficulty.

In the Senate of the United States, in 1850, Judge Trumbull, in a speech substantially, if not directly, put the same interrogatory to Judge Douglas, as to whether the people of a Territory had the lawful power to exclude slavery prior to the formation of a constitution. Judge Douglas then answered at considerable length, and his answer will be found in the *Congressional Globe*, under date of June 9th, 1856. The Judge said that whether the people could exclude slavery prior to the formation of a constitution or not *was a question to be decided by the Supreme Court*. He put that proposition, as will be seen by the *Congressional Globe*, in a variety of forms, all running to the same thing in substance, — that it was a question for the Supreme Court. I maintain that when he says, after the Supreme Court have decided the question, that the people may yet exclude slavery by any means whatever, he does virtually say that it is *not* a question for the Supreme Court. He shifts his ground. I appeal to you whether he did not say it was a question for the Supreme Court? Has not the Supreme Court decided that question? When he now says the people may exclude slavery, does he not make it a question for the people? Does he not virtually shift his ground and say that it is not a question for the court, but for the people? This is a very simple proposition, — a very plain and naked one. It seems to me that there is no difficulty in deciding it. In a variety of ways he said that it was a question for the Supreme Court. He did not stop then to tell us that, whatever the Supreme Court decides, the people can by withholding necessary “police regulations” keep slavery out. He did not make any such answer. I submit to you now whether the new state of the case has not induced the Judge to sheer away from his original ground. Would not this be the impression of every fair-minded man?

I hold that the proposition that slavery cannot enter a new country without police regulations is historically false. It is not true at all. I hold that the history of this country shows that the institution of slavery was originally planted upon this continent *without* these “police regulations” which the Judge now thinks necessary for the actual establishment of it. Not only so, but is there

not another fact: how came this Dred Scott decision to be made? It was made upon the case of a Negro being taken and actually held in slavery in Minnesota Territory, claiming his freedom because the act of Congress prohibited his being so held there. *Will the Judge pretend that Dred Scott was not held there without police regulations?* There is at least one matter of record as to his having been held in slavery in the Territory, not only without police regulations, but in the teeth of Congressional legislation supposed to be valid at the time. This shows that there is vigor enough in slavery to plant itself in a new country even against unfriendly legislation. It takes not only law, but the *enforcement* of law to keep it out. That is the history of this country upon the subject.

I wish to ask one other question. It being understood that the Constitution of the United States guarantees property in slaves in the Territories, if there is any infringement of the right of that property, would not the United States courts, organized for the government of the Territory, apply such remedy as might be necessary in that case? It is a maxim held by the courts that there is no wrong without its remedy; and the courts have a remedy for whatever is acknowledged and treated as a wrong.

Again: I will ask you, my friends, if you were elected members of the Legislature, what would be the first thing you would have to do before entering upon your duties? *Swear to support the Constitution of the United States.* Suppose you believe, as Judge Douglas does, that the Constitution of the United States guarantees to your neighbor the right to hold slaves in that Territory; that they are his property: how can you clear your oaths unless you give him such legislation as is necessary to enable him to enjoy that property? What do you understand by supporting the Constitution of a state, or of the United States? Is it not to give such constitutional helps to the rights established by that Constitution as may be practically needed? Can you, if you swear to support the Constitution, and believe that the Constitution establishes a right, clear your oath, without giving it support? Do you support the Constitution if, knowing or believing there is a right established under it which needs specific legislation, you withhold that legislation? Do you not violate and disregard your oath? I can conceive of nothing plainer in the world. There can be nothing in the words

“support the Constitution,” if you may run counter to it by refusing support to any right established under the Constitution. And what I say here will hold with still more force against the Judge’s doctrine of “unfriendly legislation.” How could you, having sworn to support the Constitution, and believing it guaranteed the right to hold slaves in the Territories, assist in legislation *intended to defeat that right*? That would be violating your own view of the Constitution. Not only so, but if you were to do so, how long would it take the courts to hold your votes unconstitutional and void? Not a moment.

Lastly, I would ask: Is not Congress itself under obligation to give legislative support to any right that is established under the United States Constitution? I repeat the question: Is not Congress itself bound to give legislative support to any right that is established in the United States Constitution? A member of Congress swears to support the Constitution of the United States; and if he sees a right established by that Constitution which needs specific legislative protection, can he clear his oath without giving that protection? Let me ask you why many of us who are opposed to slavery upon principle give our acquiescence to a Fugitive Slave law. Why do we hold ourselves under obligations to pass such a law, and abide by it when it is passed? Because the Constitution makes provision that the owners of slaves shall have the right to reclaim them. It gives the right to reclaim slaves; and that right is, as Judge Douglas says, a barren right, unless there is legislation that will enforce it.

The mere declaration, “No person held to service or labor in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due,” is powerless without specific legislation to enforce it. Now, on what ground would a member of Congress, who is opposed to slavery in the abstract, vote for a Fugitive law, as I would deem it my duty to do? Because there is a constitutional right which needs legislation to enforce it. And although it is distasteful to me, I have sworn to support the Constitution; and having so sworn, I cannot conceive that I do support it if I withhold from that right any necessary

legislation to make it practical. And if that is true in regard to a Fugitive Slave law, is the right to have fugitive slaves reclaimed any better fixed in the Constitution than the right to hold slaves in the Territories? For this decision is a just exposition of the Constitution, as Judge Douglas thinks. Is the one right any better than the other? Is there any man who, while a member of Congress, would give support to the one any more than the other? If I wished to refuse to give legislative support to slave property in the Territories, if a member of Congress, I could not do it, holding the view that the Constitution establishes that right. If I did it at all, it would be because I deny that this decision properly construes the Constitution. But if I acknowledge, with Judge Douglas, that this decision properly construes the Constitution, I cannot conceive that I would be less than a perjured man if I should refuse in Congress to give such protection to that property as in its nature it needed.

At the end of what I have said here I propose to give the Judge my fifth interrogatory, which he may take and answer at his leisure. My fifth interrogatory is this:

If the slaveholding citizens of a United States Territory should need and demand Congressional legislation for the protection of their slave property in such Territory, would you, as a member of Congress, vote for or against such legislation?

Judge DOUGLAS: Will you repeat that? I want to answer that question.

Mr. LINCOLN: If the slaveholding citizens of a United States Territory should need and demand Congressional legislation for the protection of their slave property in such Territory, would you, as a member of Congress, vote for or against such legislation?

I am aware that in some of the speeches Judge Douglas has made, he has spoken as if he did not know or think that the Supreme Court had decided that a Territorial Legislature cannot exclude slavery. Precisely what the Judge would say upon the subject — whether he would say definitely that he does not understand they have so decided, or whether he would say he does understand that the court have so decided, — I do not know; but I know that in his speech at Springfield he spoke of it as a thing they had not decided yet; and in his answer to me at Freeport, he spoke of it, so

far, again, as I can comprehend it, as a thing that had not yet been decided. Now, I hold that if the Judge does entertain that view, I think that he is not mistaken in so far as it can be said that the court has not decided anything save the mere question of jurisdiction. I know the legal arguments that can be made, — that after a court has decided that it cannot take jurisdiction in a case, it then has decided all that is before it, and that is the end of it. A plausible argument can be made in favor of that proposition; but I know that Judge Douglas has said in one of his speeches that the court went forward, *like honest men as they were*, and decided all the points in the case. If any points are really extrajudicially decided, because not necessarily before them, then this one as to the power of the Territorial Legislature to exclude slavery is one of them, as also the one that the Missouri Compromise was null and void. They are both extrajudicial, or neither is, according as the court held that they had no jurisdiction in the case between the parties, because of want of capacity of one party to maintain a suit in that court. I want, if I have sufficient time, to show that the court did *pass its opinion*; but that is the only thing actually done in the case. If they did not decide, they showed what they were ready to decide whenever the matter was before them. What is that opinion? After having argued that Congress had no power to pass a law excluding slavery from a United States Territory, they then used language to this effect: That inasmuch as Congress itself could not exercise such a power, it followed as a matter of course that it could not authorize a Territorial government to exercise it; for the Territorial Legislature can do no more than Congress could do. Thus it expressed its opinion emphatically against the power of a Territorial Legislature to exclude slavery, leaving us in just as little doubt on that point as upon any other point they really decided.

Now, my fellow citizens, I will detain you only a little while longer; my time is nearly out. I find a report of a speech made by Judge Douglas at Joliet, since we last met at Freeport, — published, I believe, in the *Missouri Republican*, — on the 9th of this month, in which Judge Douglas says:

You know at Ottawa I read this platform, and asked him if he concurred in each and all of the principles set forth in it. He would

not answer these questions. At last I said frankly, I wish you to answer them, because when I get them up here where the color of your principles are a little darker than in Egypt, I intend to trot you down to Jonesboro. The very notice that I was going to take him down to Egypt made him tremble in his knees so that he had to be carried from the platform. He laid up seven days, and in the meantime held a consultation with his political physicians; they had Lovejoy and Farnsworth and all the leaders of the Abolition party, they consulted it all over, and at last Lincoln came to the conclusion that he would answer, so he came up to Freeport last Friday.

Now, that statement altogether furnished a subject for philosophical contemplation. I have been treating it in that way, and I have really come to the conclusion that I can explain it in no other way than by believing the Judge is crazy. If he was in his right mind I cannot conceive how he would have risked disgusting the four or five thousand of his own friends who stood there and knew, as to my having been carried from the platform, that there was not a word of truth in it.

Judge DOUGLAS: Didn't they carry you off?

Mr. LINCOLN: There! that question illustrates the character of this man Douglas exactly. He smiles now, and says, "Didn't they carry you off?" but he said then "*he had to be carried off*"; and he said it to convince the country that he had so completely broken me down by his speech that I had to be carried away. Now he seeks to dodge it, and asks, "Didn't they carry you off?" Yes, they did. *But, Judge Douglas, why didn't you tell the truth?* I would like to know why you didn't tell the truth about it. And then again, "He laid up seven days." He put this in print for the people of the country to read as a serious document. I think if he had been in his sober senses he would not have risked that barefacedness in the presence of thousands of his own friends who knew that I made speeches within six of the seven days at Henry, Marshall County, Augusta, Hancock County, and Macomb, McDonough County, including all the necessary travel to meet him again at Freeport at the end of the six days. Now I say there is no charitable way to look at that statement, except to conclude that he is actually crazy. There is another thing in that statement that alarmed me very

greatly as he states it, that he was going to “trot me down to Egypt.” Thereby he would have you infer that I would not come to Egypt unless he forced me — that I could not be got here unless he, giant-like, had hauled me down here. That statement he makes, too, in the teeth of the knowledge that I had made the stipulation to come down here *and that he himself had been very reluctant to enter into the stipulation*. More than all this: Judge Douglas, when he made that statement, must have been crazy and wholly out of his sober senses, or else he would have known that when he got me down here, that promise — that windy promise — of his powers to annihilate me, wouldn’t amount to anything. Now, how little do I look like being carried away trembling? Let the Judge go on; and after he is done with his half-hour, I want you all, if I can’t go home myself, to let me stay and rot here; and if anything happens to the Judge, if I cannot carry him to the hotel and put him to bed, let me stay here and rot. I say, then, there is something *extraordinary* in this statement. I ask you if you know any other living man who would make such a statement? I will ask my friend Casey, over there, if he would do such a thing? Would he send that out and have his men take it as the truth? Did the Judge talk of trotting me down to Egypt to scare me to death? Why, I know this people better than he does. I was raised just a little east of here. I am a part of this people. But the Judge was raised farther north, and perhaps he has some horrid idea of what this people might be induced to do. But really I have talked about this matter perhaps longer than I ought, for it is no great thing; and yet the smallest are often the most difficult things to deal with. The Judge has set about seriously trying to make the impression that when we meet at different places I am literally in his clutches — that I am a poor, helpless, decrepit mouse, and that I can do nothing at all. This is one of the ways he has taken to create that impression. I don’t know any other way to meet it except this. I don’t want to quarrel with him — to call him a liar; but when I come square up to him I don’t know what else to call him if I must tell the truth out. I want to be at peace, and reserve all my fighting powers for necessary occasions. My time now is very nearly out, and I give up the trifle that is left to the Judge, to let him set my knees trembling again, if he can.

Mr. Douglas's Reply

My Friends: While I am very grateful to you for the enthusiasm which you show for me, I will say in all candor that your quietness will be much more agreeable than your applause, inasmuch as you deprive me of some part of my time whenever you cheer.

I will commence where Mr. Lincoln left off, and make a remark upon this serious complaint of his about my speech at Joliet. I did say there in a playful manner that when I put these questions to Mr. Lincoln at Ottawa he failed to answer, and that he trembled and had to be carried off the stand and required seven days to get up his reply. That he did not walk off from that stand he will not deny. That when the crowd went away from the stand with me, a few persons carried him home on their shoulders and laid him down, he will admit. I wish to say to you that whenever I degrade my friends and myself by allowing them to carry me on their backs along through the public streets, when I am able to walk, I am willing to be deemed crazy. I did not say whether I beat him or he beat me in the argument. It is true I put these questions to him, and I put them not as mere idle questions, but showed that I based them upon the creed of the Black Republican party as declared by their conventions in that portion of the state which he depends upon to elect him, and desired to know whether he indorsed that creed. He would not answer. When I reminded him that I intended bringing him into Egypt and renewing my questions if he refused to answer, he then consulted and did get up his answers one week after, — answers which I may refer to in a few minutes and show you how equivocal they are. My object was to make him avow whether or not he stood by the platform of his party; the resolutions I then read and upon which I based my questions had been adopted by his party in the Galena Congressional District and the Chicago and Bloomington Congressional Districts, composing a large majority of the counties in this state that give Republican or Abolition majorities. Mr. Lincoln cannot and will not deny that the doctrines laid down in these resolutions were in substance put forth in Lovejoy's resolutions, which were voted for by a majority of his party, some of them, if not all, receiving the support of every man of his party. Hence I laid a foundation for my ques-

tions to him before I asked him whether that was or was not the platform of his party. He says that he answered my questions. One of them was whether he would vote to admit any more slave states into the Union. The creed of the Republican party as set forth in the resolution of their various conventions was that they would under no circumstances vote to admit another slave state. It was put forth in the Lovejoy resolutions in the Legislature; it was put forth and passed in a majority of all the counties of this state which give Abolition or Republican majorities, or elect members to the Legislature of that school of politics. I have a right to know whether he would vote for or against the admission of another slave state in the event the people wanted it. He first answered that he was not pledged on the subject and then said:

In regard to the other question, of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more slave states into the Union, I state to you very frankly that I would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in the position of having to pass on that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another slave state admitted into the Union; but I must add that if slavery shall be kept out of the Territories during the Territorial existence of any one given Territory, and then the people, having a fair chance and clean field, when they come to adopt a constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union.

Now analyze that answer. In the first place, he says he would be exceedingly sorry to be put in a position where he would have to vote on the question of the admission of a slave state. Why is he a candidate for the Senate if he would be sorry to be put in that position? I trust the people of Illinois will not put him in a position which he would be so sorry to occupy. The next position he takes is that he would be glad to know that there would never be another slave state, yet, in certain contingencies, he might have to vote for one. What is that contingency? If Congress keeps slavery out by law while it is a Territory, and then the people should have a fair chance and should adopt slavery, uninfluenced by the pres-

ence of the institution, he supposed he would have to admit the state. Suppose Congress should not keep slavery out during their Territorial existence, then how would he vote when the people applied for admission into the Union with a slave constitution? That he does not answer; and that is the condition of every Territory we have now got. Slavery is not kept out of Kansas by act of Congress; and when I put the question to Mr. Lincoln, whether he will vote for the admission with or without slavery, as her people may desire, he will not answer, and you have not an answer from him. In Nebraska, slavery is not prohibited by act of Congress, but the people are allowed, under the Nebraska Bill, to do as they please on the subject; and when I ask him whether he will vote to admit Nebraska with a slave constitution if her people desire it, he will not answer. So with New Mexico, Washington Territory, Arizona, and the four new states to be admitted from Texas. You cannot get an answer from him to these questions. His answer only applies to a given case, to a condition, — things which he knows do not exist in any one Territory in the Union. He tries to give you to understand that he would allow the people to do as they please, and yet he dodges the question as to every Territory in the Union. I now ask why cannot Mr. Lincoln answer to each of these Territories? He has not done it, and he will not do it. The Abolitionists up north understand that this answer is made with a view of not committing himself on any one Territory now in existence. It is so understood there, and you cannot expect an answer from him on a case that applies to any one Territory, or applies to the new states which by compact we are pledged to admit out of Texas, when they have the requisite population and desire admission. I submit to you whether he has made a frank answer, so that you can tell how he would vote in any one of these cases. "He would be sorry to be put in the position." Why would he be sorry to be put in this position if his duty required him to give the vote? If the people of a Territory ought to be permitted to come into the Union as a state, with slavery or without it, as they pleased, why not give the vote admitting them cheerfully? If in his opinion they ought not to come in with slavery, even if they wanted to, why not say that he would cheerfully vote against their admission? His intimation is

that conscience could not let him vote "No," and he would be sorry to do that which his conscience would compel him to do as an honest man.

In regard to the contract, or bargain, between Trumbull, the Abolitionists, and him, which he denies, I wish to say that the charge can be proved by notorious historical facts. Trumbull, Lovejoy, Giddings, Fred Douglass, Hale and Banks were travelling the state at that time making speeches on the same side and in the same cause with him. He contents himself with the simple denial that any such thing occurred. Does he deny that he, and Trumbull, and Breese, and Giddings, and Chase, and Fred Douglass, and Lovejoy, and all those Abolitionists and deserters from the Democratic party did make speeches all over this state in the same common cause? Does he deny that Jim Matheny was then, and is now, his confidential friend, and does he deny that Matheny made the charge of the bargain and fraud in his own language, as I have read it from his printed speech? Matheny spoke of his own personal knowledge of that bargain existing between Lincoln, Trumbull, and the Abolitionists. He still remains Lincoln's confidential friend, and is now a candidate for Congress, and is canvassing the Springfield District for Lincoln. I assert that I can prove the charge to be true in detail if I can ever get it where I can summon and compel the attendance of witnesses. I have the statement of another man to the same effect as that made by Matheny, which I am not permitted to use yet; but Jim Matheny is a good witness on that point, and the history of the country is conclusive upon it. That Lincoln up to that time had been a Whig, and then undertook to Abolitionize the Whigs and bring them into the Abolition camp, is beyond denial; that Trumbull up to that time had been a Democrat, and deserted, and undertook to Abolitionize the Democracy, and take them into the Abolition camp, is beyond denial; that they are both now active, leading, distinguished members of this Abolition Republican party, in full communion, is a fact that cannot be questioned or denied.

But Lincoln is not willing to be responsible for the creed of his party. He complains because I hold him responsible; and in order to avoid the issue, he attempts to show that individuals in the Democratic party, many years ago, expressed Abolition sentiments.

It is true that Tom Campbell, when a candidate for Congress in 1850, published the letter which Lincoln read. When I asked Lincoln for the date of that letter, he could not give it. The date of the letter has been suppressed by other speakers who have used it, though I take it for granted that Lincoln did not know the date. If he will take the trouble to examine, he will find that the letter was published only two days before the election, and was never seen until after it, except in one county. Tom Campbell would have been beat to death by the Democratic party if that letter had been made public in his district. . . .

But Mr. Lincoln does not want to be held responsible for the Black Republican doctrine of no more slave states. Farnsworth is the candidate of his party today in the Chicago District, and he made a speech in the last Congress in which he called upon God to palsy his right arm if he ever voted for the admission of another slave state, whether the people wanted it or not. Lovejoy is making speeches all over the state for Lincoln now, and taking ground against any more slave states. Washburne, the Black Republican candidate for Congress in the Galena District, is making speeches in favor of this same Abolition platform, declaring no more slave states. Why are men running for Congress in the northern districts, and taking that Abolition platform for their guide, when Mr. Lincoln does not want to be held to it down here in Egypt and in the centre of the state, and objects to it so as to get votes here? Let me tell Mr. Lincoln that his party in the northern part of the state hold to that Abolition platform, and that if they do not in the south and in the centre, they present the extraordinary spectacle of a "house divided against itself," and hence "cannot stand." I now bring down upon him the vengeance of his own Scriptural quotation, and give it a more appropriate application than he did, when I say to him that his party, Abolition in one end of the state, and opposed to it in the other, is a house divided against itself, and cannot stand, and ought not to stand, for it attempts to cheat the American people out of their votes by disguising its sentiments.

Mr. Lincoln attempts to cover up and get over his Abolitionism by telling you that he was raised a little east of you, beyond the Wabash in Indiana, and he thinks that makes a mighty sound and good man of him on all these questions. I do not know that the

place where a man is born or raised has much to do with his political principles. The worst Abolitionists I have ever known in Illinois have been men who have sold their slaves in Alabama and Kentucky, and have come here and turned Abolitionists whilst spending the money got for the Negroes they sold; and I do not know that an Abolitionist from Indiana or Kentucky ought to have any more credit because he was born and raised among slaveholders. I do not know that a native of Kentucky is more excusable because, raised among slaves, his father and mother having owned slaves, he comes to Illinois, turns Abolitionist, and slanders the graves of his father and mother, and breathes curses upon the institutions under which he was born, and his father and mother bred. True, I was not born out west here. I was born away down in Yankee land, I was born in a valley in Vermont, with the high mountains around me. I love the old green mountains and valleys of Vermont, where I was born, and where I played in my childhood. I went up to visit them some seven or eight years ago, for the first time for twenty odd years. When I got there they treated me very kindly. They invited me to the Commencement of their college, placed me on the seats with their distinguished guests, and conferred upon me the degree of LL.D., in Latin (Doctor of Laws), — the same as they did Old Hickory, at Cambridge, many years ago; and I give you my word and honor I understood just as much of the Latin as he did. When they got through conferring the honorary degree they called upon me for a speech; and I got up, with my heart full and swelling with gratitude for their kindness, and I said to them: “My friends, Vermont is the most glorious spot on the face of this globe for a man to be born in, *provided* he emigrates when he is very young.”

I emigrated when I was very young. I came out here when I was a boy, and I found my mind liberalized, and my opinions enlarged, when I got on these broad prairies, with only the heavens to bound my vision, instead of having them circumscribed by the little narrow ridges that surrounded the valley where I was born. But I discard all flings of the land where a man was born; I wish to be judged by my principles, by those great public measures and constitutional principles upon which the peace, the happiness and the perpetuity of this Republic now rest.

Mr. Lincoln has framed another question, propounded it to me, and desired my answer. As I have said before, I did not put a question to him that I did not first lay a foundation for by showing that it was a part of the platform of the party whose votes he is now seeking, adopted in a majority of the counties where he now hopes to get a majority, and supported by the candidates of his party now running in those counties. But I will answer his question. It is as follows: "If the slaveholding citizens of a United States Territory should need and demand Congressional legislation for the protection of their slave property in such Territory, would you, as a member of Congress, vote for or against such legislation?" I answer him that it is a fundamental article in the Democratic creed that there should be non-interference and non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the states or Territories. Mr. Lincoln could have found an answer to his question in the Cincinnati platform, if he had desired it. The Democratic party have always stood by that great principle of non-interference and non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the states and Territories alike, and I stand on that platform now.

Now, I desire to call your attention to the fact that Lincoln did not define his own position in his own question. How does he stand on that question? He put the question to me at Freeport whether or not I would vote to admit Kansas into the Union before she had 93,420 inhabitants. I answered him at once that, it having been decided that Kansas had now population enough for a slave state, she had population enough for a free state.

I answered the question unequivocally; and then I asked him whether he would vote for or against the admission of Kansas before she had 93,420 inhabitants and he would not answer me. To-day he has called attention to the fact that in his opinion my answer on that question was not quite plain enough, and yet he has not answered it himself. He now puts a question in relation to Congressional interference in the Territories to me. I answer him direct, and yet he has not answered the question himself. I ask you whether a man has any right in common decency to put questions in these public discussions to his opponent which he will not answer himself when they are pressed home to him. I have asked him three times whether he would vote to admit Kansas whenever the people

applied with a constitution of their own making and their own adoption under circumstances that were fair, just, and unexceptionable; but I cannot get an answer from him. Nor will he answer the question which he put to me, and which I have just answered, in relation to Congressional interference in the Territories by making a slave code there.

It is true that he goes on to answer the question by arguing that under the decision of the Supreme Court it is the duty of a man to vote for a slave code in the Territories. He says that it is his duty, under the decision that the court has made; and if he believes in that decision he would be a perjured man if he did not give the vote. I want to know whether he is not bound to a decision which is contrary to his opinions just as much as to one in accordance with his opinions. If the decision of the Supreme Court, the tribunal created by the Constitution to decide the question, is final and binding, is he not bound by it just as strongly as if he was for it instead of against it originally? Is every man in this land allowed to resist decisions he does not like, and only support those that meet his approval? What are important courts worth, unless their decisions are binding on all good citizens? It is the fundamental principle of the judiciary that its decisions are final. It is created for that purpose; so that when you cannot agree among yourselves on a disputed point, you appeal to the judicial tribunal, which steps in and decides for you; and that decision is then binding on every good citizen. It is the law of the land just as much with Mr. Lincoln against it as for it. And yet he says if that decision is binding he is a perjured man if he does not vote for a slave code in the different Territories of this Union. Well, if you [turning to Mr. Lincoln] are not going to resist the decision, if you obey it and do not intend to array mob law against the constituted authorities, then, according to your own statement, you will be a perjured man if you do not vote to establish slavery in these Territories. My doctrine is that, even taking Mr. Lincoln's view, that the decision recognizes the right of a man to carry his slaves into the Territories of the United States if he pleases, yet after he gets there he needs affirmative law to make that right of any value. The same doctrine not only applies to slave property, but all other kinds of property. Chief Justice Taney places it upon the ground that slave prop-

erty is on an equal footing with other property. Suppose one of your merchants should move to Kansas and open a liquor store: he has a right to take groceries and liquors there; but the mode of selling them, and the circumstances under which they shall be sold, and all the remedies, must be prescribed by local legislation; and if that is unfriendly, it will drive him out just as effectually as if there was a constitutional provision against the sale of liquor. So the absence of local legislation to encourage and support slave property in a Territory excludes it practically just as effectually as if there was a positive constitutional provision against it. Hence I assert that under the Dred Scott decision you cannot maintain slavery a day in a Territory where there is an unwilling people and unfriendly legislation. If the people are opposed to it, our right is a barren, worthless, useless right; and if they are for it, they will support and encourage it. We come right back, therefore, to the practical question, — if the people of a Territory want slavery, they will have it; and if they do not want it, you cannot force it on them. And this is the practical question, the great principle, upon which our institutions rest. I am willing to take the decision of the Supreme Court as it was pronounced by that august tribunal, without stopping to inquire whether I would have decided that way or not. I have had many a decision made against me on question of law which I did not like, but I was bound by them just as much as if I had had a hand in making them and approved them. Did you ever see a lawyer or a client lose his case that he approved the decision of the court? They always think the decision unjust when it is given against them. In a government of laws, like ours, we must sustain the Constitution as our fathers made it, and maintain the rights of the states as they are guaranteed under the Constitution; and then we will have peace and harmony between the different states and sections of this glorious Union.



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